Curriculum, Instruction, and Coaching for Teaching Difficult Histories

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by

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Abstract

Teachers often struggle to teach emotionally difficult and traumatic histories of violent racial and ethnic oppression, including the genocides of the transatlantic slave trade and the Holocaust. This dissertation consists of three manuscripts that examine the curriculum related to difficult histories, pre-service teachers' instruction of a text from a difficult history, and how coaching can support teachers' instruction of a text from a difficult history. The first manuscript presents a content analysis of secondary world history standards to explore which genocides are included in standards and how each genocide is described. The second and third manuscripts analyze how novice teachers teach texts written by people who experienced oppression in difficult histories; I analyze their instruction in relation to a conceptual framework for traumatic history instruction. Findings from the second paper, a case study of four pre-service teachers, suggest that pre-service teachers do not consistently utilize skills of historical source analysis when teaching a difficult history. Findings from the second paper, a case study of seven novice in-service teachers, suggest that instructional coaching on historical source analysis can improve teachers' incorporation of these skills. Collectively, these papers deepen our understanding of the challenges teachers face when teaching difficult histories and indicate that instructional coaching may support teachers in navigating these demands.

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Conceptual Linkages Between Each Study

Social studies teachers teach many skills, concepts, and events in order to support their students' understanding of our collective responsibilities as members of society (NCSS, 2013). Some of the most challenging topics for teachers to teach are histories of human suffering through violent oppression, genocide, and enslavement, often called difficult and traumatic histories (Britzman, 1998; Simon et al., 2000; Simon, 2005). Although research suggests that analyzing first-person narratives written by people who were oppressed during difficult histories can improve students' civic engagement and orientation towards human rights (e.g., Simon, 2005; Starratt et al., 2017; Totten & Feinberg, 2016), social studies teachers in the United States are seldom prepared to teach these sources.

This problem is more drastic for novice teachers, who often lack the awareness of historically marginalized perspectives and pedagogical skills necessary to teach difficult histories (e.g., Rich, 2019; Salinas & Blevins, 2014). In this dissertation, I analyze three elements related to preparing novice teachers to teach first-person narratives from difficult histories: curricular requirements, how pre-service teachers (PSTs) teach a first-person narrative from a difficult history without specific preparation, and evidence that instructional coaching can prepare novice teachers to teach narratives from difficult histories.

This dissertation consists of three papers, each of which examines an element of difficult history instruction in America. Each paper includes distinct implications for how policymakers or teacher educators can support difficult history instruction that emphasizes learning from first-person narratives. The first manuscript has been published in the *Journal of Social Studies Research*; the other manuscripts have not yet been submitted for publication.

In the first paper, I collected and analyzed the high school world history content standards in states that mandate genocide education. I found that states increasingly require genocide education but offer little curricular guidance or support. In this work, I call attention to the increasing requirements to teach difficult histories and contrast these requirements with a paucity of curricular guidance or instructional support.

In the second paper, I analyze how four PSTs teach students to analyze an excerpt from *Night*, Elie Wiesel's narrative about his experiences during the difficult history of the Holocaust, in a practice setting. The PSTs in this study had not received training on how to teach first-person narratives from historically marginalized perspectives, providing insight into these PSTs' needs. I analyze participants' instruction in relation to a conceptual framework for traumatic history instruction. While all participants asked comprehension questions about the text, one teacher exclusively taught about the Nazis' experiences, which contradicts the best practices of teaching Holocaust narratives (Totten & Feinberg, 2016; USHMM, n.d.). Although all PSTs reported feeling more confident after they taught, indicating that practice lessons may be useful, all PSTs wanted additional support, including opportunities to view exemplary lessons and receive instructional coaching.

In the third and final paper, I build off paper two and analyze the ways in which teachers' instruction of a first-person narrative from a difficult history shifted after they receive instructional coaching. This paper is a multiple case study of how seven novice teachers teach an excerpt from *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano* about his kidnapping and enslavement before and after they receive coaching. Initially, all teachers asked comprehension questions about the events of the text and few asked students to analyze the sourcing, context, or author's perspective. Teachers then received instructional coaching on how to teach students to

analyze sourcing, the author's agency, and the author's use of descriptive language–three practices that research suggests are essential to analyzing first-person narratives (e.g., Bickford & Clabough, 2020; Simon, 2005; Totten & Feinberg, 2016). After coaching, all teachers incorporated these skills into their instruction.

In this dissertation, I develop and analyze the first model for coaching social studies teachers on historical source analysis and teaching difficult histories, as aligned to a conceptual framework for traumatic history instruction. Teacher educators and instructional leaders can use this framework and coaching model to help novice teachers learn to teach first-person narratives–an essential skill for students to learn about and from difficult or traumatic histories of genocide and oppression.

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Misleading Mandates: The Null Curriculum of Genocide Education

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Abstract:

This content analysis examines the ways that genocide is included in the high school world history content standards of eleven states with legislative mandates requiring genocide education, as well as if the content standards in those states differ from those of states without mandated genocide education. The null curriculum (Eisner, 1979) theorizes that the content that is not taught may be as important as what is taught; this lens allows for a nuanced analysis of the ways that genocide is included and excluded in state standards. The findings suggest that states with legislative mandates requiring genocide education do not necessarily have high school world history content standards that require genocide education. The content standards in states with legislative mandates often omit acts of genocide, refrain from using the term "genocide," and frame genocides as less important than the Holocaust, perpetuating the null curriculum of genocides.

Key Words: Curriculum studies, genocide education, Holocaust education, content analysis, world history, state standards

Misleading Mandates: The Null Curriculum of Genocide Education

More than seventy-five years ago, prisoners newly liberated from the Buchenwald Concentration Camp held signs calling for genocide to "never again" happen. The United Nations codified this sentiment in the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide: genocide has occurred "at all periods of history" but "international cooperation" could "liberate mankind from such an odious scourge" (1948). The Genocide Convention has not prevented genocide, however. Recent and ongoing genocides of the Rohingya, Uyghur, and Ukrainian people show that "never again" remains an unfulfilled promise.

Policymakers and educational theorists suggest an important strategy to ensure that genocide "never again" happens is to teach secondary students about the causes and prevention of genocide (Totten, 2001; United Nations, 2018). Genocide education, which refers to teaching about the history of genocide as well as the role of individuals and systems in combatting contemporary genocides, has the potential to expand students' understanding of their ability to defend human rights (Totten, 2001). Many American state legislatures have passed mandates requiring genocide education to increase the likelihood that secondary students will learn about genocide (United States Holocaust Memorial and Museum, n.d., b).

Adopting legislative mandates without reforming curricula is unlikely to improve genocide education, however, as research suggests that students who attended schools in states with long-standing genocide education mandates have demonstrated poor content knowledge of genocide (Kassel, 2021; Rich, 2019). While genocide education mandates indicate that state legislators value genocide education, the mandates do not necessarily change the curricula teachers use when planning their instruction or, therefore, change what teachers teach. In her

analysis of the political processes of adopting mandates for Holocaust and genocide education, Stillman (2022) quotes Holocaust scholar Josey Fisher as arguing that "having a mandate means nothing unless teachers know what they're doing" (39). Stillman (2022) calls for further analysis of state standards and considerations of how mandates are enacted.

While teachers' implementation of legislative mandates unconnected to curricula is unclear, prior research suggests that state content standards can strongly influence teachers' instructional decision-making (Apple, 2004; Author, 2010; Sleeter & Stillman, 2005; Thornton, 1991, 2008). State legislatures have more direct influence over content standards than they do over other factors impacting teachers' enacted instruction, such as individual teachers' goals or the availability of textbooks in each school (Remillard & Heck, 2014). What, then, do the content standards of states with legislative mandates requiring genocide education stipulate that students should learn about genocide?

In this article, we analyze the frequency and manner by which states with genocide education mandates include genocide in their world history content standards. We utilize Totten's (2001) conception of the null curriculum of genocide education to examine which genocides states include—and which they exclude—from the content standards teachers use in their instructional planning. This framework suggests that students should be taught about multiple acts of genocide and patterns that exist across genocides, but frequently learn only about the Holocaust. Without explicit instruction about multiple genocides and how genocide differs from other mass atrocities, students "are not likely to appreciate that genocide is not inevitable" or understand their role in "the intervention and prevention of genocide" (Totten, 2001, p. 8).

Based on the findings of this study, we argue that states with genocide education mandates do not have content standards that will require teachers to teach about genocide with

the frequency or terminology necessary for students to understand that they can prevent future genocides. Rather than adopting a genocide education mandate alone, states should adopt content standards that require teachers to teach about multiple acts of historic and contemporary genocide. States with content standards that specify multiple acts of genocide using appropriate terminology will more fully address the United Nations' (2018) call for curricula that will empower students to make "never again" a reality.

Defining Genocide and Related Terms

The term "genocide" was created by Raphael Lemkin, a Polish-Jewish lawyer who was appalled by the Turkish slaughter of Armenians between 1915-1923; "genocide" combines the Greek root *genos* (race or family) and the Latin term *-cide* (killing; Johnson & Pennington, 2018). Following Lemkin's years-long lobbying efforts after the Holocaust, the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948) adopted the following definition of genocide:

> Any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious groups such as:
>
> a. Killing members of the group;
> b. Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
> c. Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
> d. Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
> e. Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group (p. 2)

In this paper, we will use this definition to bound our analysis of genocides included in standards rather than instances in which the International Criminal Court (ICC) has determined a genocide has occurred. This distinction is important because genocides that occurred before the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948) were not retroactively ruled to be genocides. Furthermore, many countries, including the United States, do not recognize the jurisdiction of the ICC (International Criminal Court, n.d.).

The United Nations and The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum consolidated definitions from international laws, the International Red Cross, and scholarship to create a set of terms often used to refer to events related to genocide (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d., b; United Nations Office on Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect, n.d.). As curricular texts often use—and incorrectly interchange—these terms, we include pertinent definitions. "Mass killing" refers to actions of armed groups that result in the death of at least 1,000 noncombatants (Straus, 2016). "Mass atrocities" are large-scale violence against civilian populations; all genocides are mass atrocities, but not all mass atrocities target a group and are therefore not necessarily genocides. "Ethnic cleansing" refers to the removal of an ethnic group from a region. Of these terms, only "genocide" has a legal definition and is recognized as an international crime.

If one uses these terms interchangeably, they inaccurately suggest that these terms are of legal and emotional equivalence. If a teacher teaches about a genocide as an "ethnic cleansing," for example, the students may mistakenly learn that the victims were forcibly moved to a new location but not systematically murdered. Similarly, students who are taught that a genocide was a "mass killing" may not understand that the mass killing was conducted with the intent to eliminate a specific group of people. If a teacher uses the term "genocide" to refer to one event and alternate terms for other events, students are likely to develop misconceptions about genocide, such as other events were not genocide and were less significant or that there are not common, preventable causes of genocide (Totten, 2001).

When teachers accurately and consistently use the term "genocide," however, students' knowledge of historical genocides and their awareness of how to prevent future genocides may improve. Many teachers have an unconscious bias to avoid emotionally charged terminology,

such as "genocide" (Zembylas, 2015). Therefore, curricular resources that explicitly use the term "genocide" can increase the likelihood that teachers use the appropriate terms in their instruction and that students learn about the causes and means of prevention for genocide (Totten, 2001).

Literature Review

Holocaust and Genocide Education

While "genocide" is not specific to the Holocaust, the Holocaust is the most-taught and most-researched example of genocide education (Bromley & Russell, 2010; Johnson & Pennington, 2018; Levy & Sheppard, 2018). Most empirical research of Holocaust education in secondary schools addresses teachers' instructional methods (e.g., Cowan & Maitles, 2017; Donnelly, 2006; Johnson & Pennington, 2018; Juzwik, 2013; Levy & Sheppard, 2018) and the impact of educational context on instruction (e.g., Levy, 2014; Schweber, 2004, 2008; Schweber & Irwin, 2003). These studies suggest that Holocaust education may benefit for students, such as improving interactions with peers (Cowan & Maitles, 2007), developing students' morals or ethics (Schweber, 2004), and improving students' citizenship values (Bowen & Kisida, 2020; Starratt et al., 2017); while there are many potential benefits of Holocaust education, research often examines critical cases of exceptional Holocaust instruction, potentially overinflating the suggested impact of Holocaust education.

Furthermore, students' knowledge of the Holocaust does not indicate they know about *other* genocides. In Harris and colleagues' 2019 study of comparative genocide education, students said that an elective course on Holocaust literature was the only time they had been taught that genocides other than the Holocaust occurred; students explained that history teachers taught about the facts of the Holocaust but not include any other examples of genocides at any point in their courses (Harris et al., 2019). When genocide education is limited to the Holocaust,

students can mistakenly believe the Holocaust is the only genocide in world history. This miseducation can prevent students from understanding the causation of historic genocides and the ways they can prevent future genocides.

As there are no national history content standards, the expectations for what students should learn about genocide vary greatly from state to state. To date, all studies of genocide education curricula in multiple American states have focused exclusively on the Holocaust, despite the increasing prevalence of genocide education in American secondary schools (Ragland & Rosenstein, 2014; Riley & Totten, 2002; Totten & Riley, 2005). In their evaluations of Holocaust curricula in states that offer such resources, Riley and Totten contrast the importance of Holocaust education with criticism that these state-sponsored curricula "lack accuracy, context, and breadth and depth of information and perspectives" (Riley & Totten, 2002, p. 559). In a subsequent study of eleven states' Holocaust education curricula, Totten and Riley (2005) found that these curricula include "activities that reinforce negative stereotypes rather than cause students to critically examine the nature of prejudice" (p. 132). Because these studies are limited to portrayals of the Holocaust, they do not analyze the quality or existence of resources for teachers to provide instruction about the causation and prevention of genocide. Additionally, these studies analyze the resources of states with especially robust frameworks, and their findings are not representative of the ways or extent to which genocide is included in curricula nationally.

Despite the potential for genocide education to improve students' self-efficacy in preventing or confronting genocide (Totten, 2001), the field of empirical research regarding genocide education provides very limited insight into the extent to which genocide education is expected to be taught—or actually taught—nationally. While Schweber (2008) notes that her

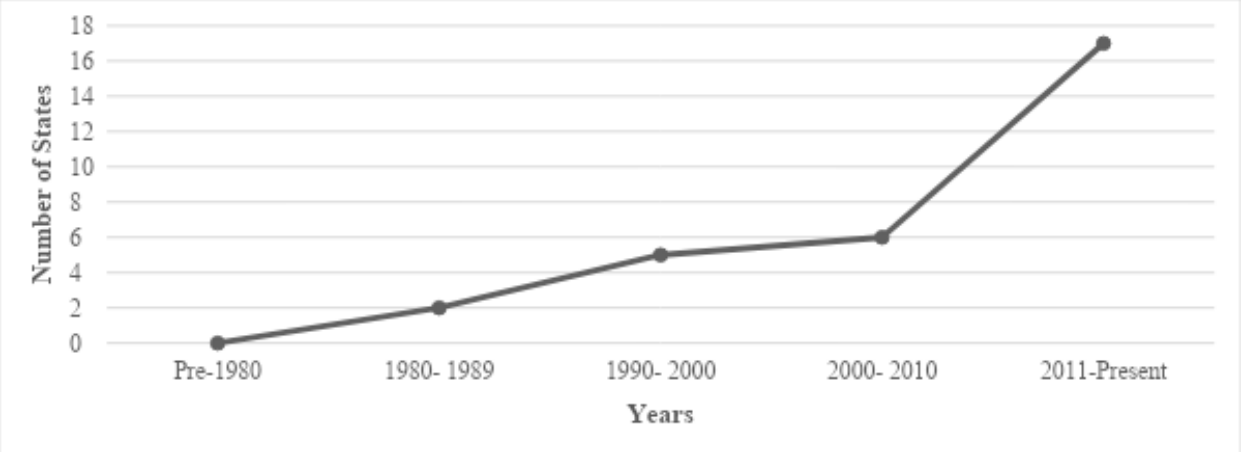
research is "*imaginatively* generalizable" to other instances of teaching genocide (p. 2080), studies of a small number of individual classrooms and states do not combine to create a national picture of genocide education in America. In this article, we address this gap by exploring the official curricula that teachers are *expected* to enact in classrooms nationwide.

Mandating Genocide Education

Holocaust and genocide education have become increasingly common components of curricula in the United States since the mid-1970s (Fallace, 2008). Since California adopted the first legislative mandate for genocide education in 1985, 17 states have adopted similar mandates requiring genocide education in K-12 schools (United States Holocaust Memorial and Museum, n.d., c.). As shown in Figure 1, state legislatures have increasingly passed legislation that mandates genocide education in secondary public schools.

Figure 1

Number of States Mandating Genocide Education



Legislators in many states identify Americans' poor knowledge of genocide—and alarming misconceptions of the facts of the Holocaust—as their rationale for adopting new genocide education mandates (Bender, 2020; Claims Conference, 2020; Cortez, 2020; Hitt, 2021; Pew, 2020). While legislators argue that mandates for genocide education will address "hatred

not only against the Jews but other people" and the "giant gaps and voids in our history" (Bender, 2020), the impact of these mandates on teachers' instruction and students' learning is potentially negligible.

Recent surveys suggest that students who attended schools in states with such mandates nevertheless have poor knowledge of genocide (Claims Conference, 2020; Kassel, 2021; Rich, 2019). Although New York has had a genocide education mandate for nearly thirty years, its citizens performed so poorly on surveys of knowledge of genocide that the state adopted a new law requiring oversight of Holocaust education (Kassel, 2021). 60% of the participants in Rich's (2019) study, who had attended school in New Jersey after it adopted its genocide education mandate in 1994, could not accurately list a genocide other than the Holocaust; an additional 26% of the participants could list only one genocide other than the Holocaust. In other words, adopting a genocide education mandate does not mean that teachers are teaching about genocides other than the Holocaust.

Students' poor knowledge of the events, causation, and prevention of genocide is not because of the genocide education mandates themselves; rather, students' poor content knowledge may remain unaffected by the mandate because teachers' instruction may not change as a result of a mandate. In her study of the political processes by which states adopt Holocaust and genocide education mandates, Stillman (2022) argues that mandates will not change teachers' instruction or improve students' knowledge of the causes and prevention of genocide unless mandates are "connected to standards" (p. 39). Because legislative mandates do not change the state content standards teachers reference when planning their lessons, legislative mandates alone are unlikely to alter or improve genocide education. This contrast calls into

question whether states that adopt legislative mandates also have content standards standardizing genocide education.

To date, researchers have analyzed the curriculum standards of two states with genocide education mandates: New Jersey and Illinois (Ragland & Rosenstein, 2014; Rich, 2019). Both studies note a tension between the importance of teaching facts of genocide and the instructional methods in the curricula that aim to "elicit emotional responses from students" (Ragland & Rosenstein, 2014, p. 176). These studies suggest that the New Jersey and Illinois curricula overly emphasize students' affective understandings of genocide without providing clear expectations for students to develop deep content knowledge of genocide. The authors of these studies do not argue that their findings generalize to other states with mandates, however, as each state adopts mandates and standards independently.

(Mis)Representations in Content Standards

State content standards indicate each state's expectation of what students are expected to learn; the creation of content standards is a political process reflecting the knowledge that those in power want students to have (e.g., Apple, 2004). Prior research suggests that these content standards—not legislative mandates—are the basis for teachers' instructional planning (Apple, 2004; Sleeter & Stillman, 2005; Thornton, 1991, 2008). Content standards in social studies are subjected to public scrutiny and political influences, as reflected in cyclical debates of whose histories should be included in official curricula (e.g., Evans, 2004; Nash et al., 2000; Symcox, 2002). Content analysis methodology (Krippendorff, 2004) can guide researchers who want to uncover what students are expected to learn, increasing the potential generalizability of findings about curricula in case study research.

Content analyses of state content standards can reveal patterns of inclusion and exclusion in social studies curricula, as recent research of states' history content standards has found that content standards include and promote incomplete or inaccurate historical narratives (An, 2016; Anderson & Metzger, 2011; Hilburn et al., 2016; Hornbeck, 2018; Journell, 2009; Shear et al., 2015; Vasquez Heilig et al., 2012). Many of these content analyses yield concerning findings about histories that teachers are required to teach and histories that are excluded from curricula. Although the impact of this research on influencing curricular reforms is not yet clear, teachers and teacher educators can use the findings of these studies to adapt their instruction and correct for historical inconsistencies or misrepresentations in content standards.

In their study of the manner and extent to which content standards portray Indigenous Peoples of the Americas, Shear and colleagues (2015) reveal that only the content standards of Washington use the term genocide to refer to the genocide of Indigenous Peoples; most content standards portray the American government's removal of Indigenous Peoples from their ancestral lands with "a tone of detachment, focusing on political actions and court rulings rather than on the impact of the lives of Indigenous Peoples in the United States" (Shear et al., 2015, p. 88). This finding corroborates previous international research that curricular materials often omit references to the Holocaust or genocide if the country of publication was involved in the perpetration of said genocide (Bromley & Russell, 2010); we build on these findings by considering specifically which genocides state content standards include and how they are included.

Most scholarship about social studies content standards has focused on secondary US History and civics courses (An, 2016; Hilburn et al., 2016; Hornbeck, 2018; Journell, 2009; Shear et al., 2015) with limited research on elementary social studies (Busey & Walker, 2017;

Kolluri & Young, 2021). As this previous research has illuminated concerning misrepresentations of racial and ethnic groups (An, 2016; Shear et al., 2015), voting rights (Hornbeck, 2018), and immigration (Journell, 2009; Hilburn et al., 2016), it is plausible that similar misrepresentations and omissions exist in world history standards. Although world history is a common graduation requirement, secondary world history standards have not been analyzed in depth. Within a social studies context, students are most likely to learn about multiple acts of genocide in a world history course; we use these standards to explore how—and whether—genocides are included in states' content standards.

Conceptual Framework

The adoption of state standards is a political process; competing narratives of historical events are framed through the inclusion and exclusion of political figures and events from standards and associated high-stakes testing (Author, 2010; Vasquez Heilig et al., 2012). In his seminal 1979 work, Eliot Eisner argued that a detailed study of curricula is necessary to explore what events are included and excluded from these curricula; this work laid the conceptual basis of the null curriculum: "what schools do not teach may be as important as what they do teach" (Eisner, 1979 p. 83). Totten (2001) elaborated upon Eisner's (1979) null curriculum to argue that educators must consider which genocides are included and excluded from their curricula to understand how the null curriculum of genocide education manifests in their instruction. This framework suggests two primary concerns in genocide education: curricula frequently omit genocide, but the presence of Holocaust education leads people to believe genocide education is sufficiently included in curricula.

Without the lens of the null curriculum, a cursory read of standards may suggest that states are adequately addressing genocide by including the Holocaust in their curricula. While

the Holocaust is a genocide, it should not be inaccurately used as the synecdoche for all genocide (Bromley & Russell, 2010; Totten, 2001). Students can understand that genocide is preventable, however, when teachers teach about multiple acts of genocide and patterns of causation and prevention between the many events. State legislatures debating this topic have engaged in highly politicized debates of whose genocide they believe is worthy of inclusion in standards and whose genocide should be called a "genocide" (e.g., Author, 2010; Bender, 2021).

Because the narrative framing of standards impacts the narrative framing teachers use in their instruction (Sleeter & Stillman, 2005; Thornton, 1991), standards that refer to only the Holocaust as a genocide can influence teachers to teach that the Holocaust was the only genocide that has occurred. In other words, standards that refer exclusively to the Holocaust or to the Holocaust and "other genocides" mistakenly suggest that the victims of the Holocaust are more worthy of instruction and memory than victims of other genocides. This othering of genocides can limit students' ability to reach the goals of genocide education, such as decreasing prejudice and engaging in anti-genocide activism.

The null curriculum of genocides (Totten, 2001) provides a framework to consider which genocides are included in curricula, as well as the circumstances under which the term "genocide" is used. Since teachers are likely to teach the events and terms explicitly included in their content standards (Sleeter & Stillman, 2005; Thornton, 1991 2008), we apply the lens of the null curriculum to explore both how and which genocides are included and excluded from content standards. Inclusion includes three primary elements: explicit use of the term "genocide," providing teacher choice of term or events, and using an alternate term (e.g., "ethnic conflict") for a genocide; explicit use of the term "genocide" is most likely to combat the null curriculum.

Methods

We employed Krippendorff's (2004) content analysis methodology to reveal how genocides are included in states' high school world history standards and the manner of their inclusion or exclusion. Influenced by the work of Shear and colleagues (2015), our study explored three primary research questions:

1. In states with legislative mandates requiring genocide education, what is the frequency of genocides included in state-level high school world history standards?
2. How are genocides portrayed in the content standards of states with such mandates?
3. What differences, if any, exist between the ways that states with and without mandates requiring genocide education include acts of genocide in their content standards?

Content Unit Selection

Krippendorff (2004) identifies three types of units one should consider in a content analysis: sampling units to determine which source(s) will be included in an analysis, context units to limit the information, and coding units at will be coded. Coding units can be further divided to address "several *levels of inclusion*" of a given concept (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 100). Before we identified our samples, we downloaded all states' secondary social studies content standards from state boards of education in early 2021. This provided a consistent set of data for analysis in case standards were revised or edited during the study.

We have two primary sampling units: states with genocide education mandates and a random sample of states without. While there is some disagreement on what constitutes a mandate for genocide education (Stillman, 2022), eleven states are identified by national non-profits and federal law identify as mandating genocide education (Echoes and Reflections; Never Again Education Act, 2020; United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d., b). We read the mandate of each state identified by these three sources to determine if their mandate

explicitly required genocide education. Although Pennsylvania met the initial criteria, we excluded it from this study because its state mandate is framed as an option that schools "may offer instruction in the Holocaust, genocide, and human rights violations" (Pennsylvania Public School Code of 1949, 2014). "May" implies that schools can elect to exclude instruction on these topics, rendering the mandate less than mandatory. Additionally, states that adopted mandates after we collected all standards (e.g., Arizona) were excluded from both samples. We determined the second sampling unit of states without mandates by randomly sampling states that do not have and are not currently debating genocide education mandates.

Our coding units (Krippendorff, 2004) are the history standards that high school world history teachers would use when planning their instruction. We limited the study to high school content standards, as genocide education may not be appropriate for elementary students (Schweber, 2008). We selected world history standards because these courses provide more opportunities for students to learn about and from acts of genocide in addition—and not at the exclusion of—events that should also be taught in American history courses (i.e., the genocide of Indigenous Peoples and transatlantic slave trade). For states that do not have a specific set of high school world history standards, we used the general history standards or high school social studies standards as our context units. We excluded standards that a high school world history teacher would not use, such as middle school civics standards. In Table 1, we specify all coding units for each state that is included in a sampling unit for this study.

Table 1

Sampling and Context Units

Sampling Unit	State	Context Unit
Has a Mandate	California	Grade Ten Modern World History
	Connecticut	High School Modern World History
	Florida	Grades 9-12 World History
	Illinois	Social Science 9-12

	Indiana	High School World History and Civilization
	Kentucky	High School World History
	Michigan	High School World History and Geography
	New Jersey	World History / Global Studies by the End of Grade 12
	New York	Grade 10 Global History and Geography II
	Oregon	High School History
	Rhode Island	High School Social Studies
No Mandate	Iowa	9-12 World History
	Kansas	High School Modern World History
	Louisiana	High School World History
	Maine	History Grades 9-Diploma
	Maryland	High School Modern World History
	Minnesota	High School World History
	Missouri	High School World History II
	New Mexico	Grades 9-12 History
	South Carolina	High School World History from 1300
	South Dakota	9-12 World History
	Wyoming	Social Studies Upon Graduation Grade 12

After we identified the sampling and context units, we read all materials to determine which specific standards within the broader context units would be our coding units (Krippendorff, 2004). Flinders and colleagues (1986) argue that researchers must define a complete curriculum universe before analyzing which content is excluded and therefore null. We define our curriculum universe—and coding units—are the acts of genocide included in two or more states' content standards. Seven events are included in two or more context units and are referred to as a genocide at least once (i.e., Armenian genocide, genocide of Muslims in Bosnia, Cambodian genocide, genocide in Darfur, the Holocaust, the Holodomor, and the Rwandan genocide). The Herero and Namaqua genocide are not a primary coding unit because only one state referenced it with the term "genocide" (Michigan Department of Education, 2019). Multiple events that could be described as a genocide (e.g., transatlantic slave trade, genocide of Indigenous Peoples, and the ongoing conflict in Palestine) were not referred to as a "genocide" by any states in this sample, and are therefore not coding units in this curriculum universe.

Analytic Process

We began the content analysis (Krippendorff, 2004) by organizing all standards by sampling unit, coding unit, and coding unit; an overview of standards organized by state and event is included in Appendix A. Our first round of coding analyzed the inclusion and exclusion of each coding unit. Further analysis focused on the manner of inclusion, as aligned to the null curriculum of genocide (Totten, 2001). Specifically, we recoded the included coding units as explicitly referring to the event as a "genocide," offering teacher choice in terminology or inclusion, and referring to the event with an alternate term, such as "ethnic violence" or "human rights violation;" the theory of the null curriculum of genocides contends that such differential framing of events should be considered to explore how curricula perpetuate perceptions of the importance of genocides and their victims (Totten, 2001). We then analyzed the frequency of inclusion or exclusion for each coding unit, as well as the frequency of each form of inclusion.

Following the first round of coding for inclusion and exclusion, the second phase of coding reviewed potential trends, patterns, and differences (Krippendorff, 2004) in the data. These analyses included considering the years that states adopted mandates, whether victims of the genocide were explicitly mentioned, the ways that individual genocides were connected or separated, and whether the standards suggested a broader theme associated with the genocides. To complement the analysis of standards in states with mandates, we analyzed a random sample of eleven states without mandates requiring genocide education using the same methodological approach with which we analyzed states with mandates (Appendix B).

Limitations

Although we employed a rigorous data analysis aligned with content analysis methodology (Krippendorff, 2004), there are some limitations inherent to a content analysis of

state standards (Shear et al., 2015). The primary limitation of an analysis of content standards is that the standards and legislative mandates may change; our data reflects states' expectations for genocide education in 2021. Although we controlled for states' adoption of genocide education mandates by excluding states that adopted mandates after 2020 and states that were debating such mandates when we were writing this article, states' standards may change over time. Additionally, state standards represent the official curriculum that teachers are expected and likely to teach, but do not necessarily correspond to what teachers enact in their classrooms (Remillard & Heck, 2014; Shear et al., 2015). Realistically, instruction may include far fewer acts of genocide than are included in standards due to teachers' bias to avoid emotionally difficult history (Zembylas, 2015). Future research can explore the policymakers' debates regarding genocide education mandates and the ways that educators implement these mandates.

We acknowledge that our methodological choice to limit the curriculum universe of genocide education to genocides mentioned by at least two states' standards reflects only one potential bounding of the curriculum universe; there is no definitive list of which genocides can or should be taught. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, for example, provides "country case studies" of four historic (i.e., Armenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cambodia, Rwanda) and 16 contemporary genocides (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d., a). We analyze a broader curricular universe than these four historic genocides, but omit others. Consequently, our specification of the potential curriculum universe of genocide education includes its own null curriculum of genocide. We argue that it may not be possible or wise to teach every genocide in one secondary world history course; this builds on Flinders' and colleagues' (1986) argument that attempts to operationalize all possible content may effectively trivialize the broader concept.

Furthermore, some states provide teachers with supplementary genocide education resources that teachers may utilize; other researchers have analyzed supplementary Holocaust education curricula (Riley & Totten, 2002; Totten & Riley, 2005). We excluded supplementary curricula from our analysis since teachers are not required to use them. As Shear and colleagues argue, "state standards play increasing significant roles in the curricular choices of teachers" and are therefore the best means through which one can examine how a topic is expected to be taught (Shear et al., 2015 p. 74). Additional research may address both the contents of supplementary curricula, the extent to which teachers use them, and what other resources can support teachers' enactment of genocide education.

Findings

Frequency of Inclusion and Exclusion of Events

The theory of the null curriculum of genocides (Totten, 2001) suggests specific attention to which genocides are included and excluded from curricula, as they indicate a societal valuation of whose genocides are most worthy of memory. This can be examined both through the frequency of inclusion or exclusion of all genocidal acts, as well as the comparative frequency of individual acts of genocide. In total, we coded for seven events' inclusion and exclusion across eleven states with and without mandates, leading to 77 total coding opportunities for each group. In both groups, content standards excluded most genocides from the expectations for student learning.

Table 2

Frequency with which state content standards mention acts of genocide by mandate status

Event	Rate of inclusion by states with mandates	Rate of inclusion by states without mandates
Armenian Genocide	36%	9%
Bosnian Genocide	18%	9%

Cambodian Genocide	27%	27%
Darfur Genocide	18%	27%
Holocaust	64%	36%
Holodomor / Ukrainian Genocide	36%	0%
Rwandan Genocide	27%	18%
Reference average	*32%*	*18%*

States that mandate genocide education include acts of genocide more frequently than states that do not mandate genocide education; neither group includes genocides with sufficient frequency. For students to learn that genocide is preventable, they must learn about multiple acts of genocide and examine patterns of causation and response. These data suggest that students in states with genocide education mandates will likely learn about two or three genocides (32% of 7 events) and that students in states without genocide education mandates will learn about one genocide (18% of 7 events). These rates of inclusion suggest that students are not expected to learn about genocides frequently enough to reach the goals of genocide education.

The frequency of inclusion varied by individual genocide, as shown in Figure 2. These data corroborate Totten's (2001) conception that the Holocaust is included more than other genocides, and potentially at the exclusion of other acts of genocide; the comparatively lower rate of inclusion of other genocides incorrectly suggests that the Holocaust is the only historical genocide or that its victims are more important than victims of other genocides.

Standards most frequently omitted the genocides in Bosnia and Darfur; they are two of the three most recent events to be included in the standards, which may explain their relatively low rate of inclusion. Similarly, contemporary genocides, such as China's genocide of Uyghurs, are not included in any state's standards.

Although not explicitly referred to as a "genocide" by any states, the genocides of Indigenous Peoples of the Americas and the transatlantic slave trade were included in standards

with a greater frequency than all genocides other than the Holocaust. Notably, these were the only genocides that occurred on modern-day American lands. Standards frame both events as economic events with "consequences" and "conflicts" rather than genocides. Other researchers have examined the representations of these events in state standards for American history courses; Shear and colleagues (2015) found that only one state used the term "genocide" to refer to the genocide of Indigenous Peoples, suggesting that this pattern of exclusion persists across courses.

In addition to analyzing the frequency of inclusion or exclusion by event, we considered these frequencies by individual state (Table 3). Concerningly, six states that legislatively mandate genocide education include one or fewer acts of genocide in their standards, despite teachers' common use of standards—not legislative mandates— in their instructional decision-making.

Table 3

Number of genocidal events included in state content standards by mandate status

Event		**Number of genocides mentioned**
States with genocide education mandates	California	3
	Connecticut	1
	Florida	5
	Illinois	0
	Indiana	1
	Kentucky	0
	Michigan	6
	New Jersey	3
	New York	6
	Oregon	0
	Rhode Island	0
Reference average		*2.27*
States without genocide education mandates	Iowa	0
	Kansas	1
	Louisiana	0
	Maine	0
	Maryland	5
	Minnesota	4

	Missouri	0
	New Mexico	1
	South Carolina	3
	South Dakota	0
	Wyoming	0
Reference average		*1.27*

Three of the states with mandates include one or fewer genocides (i.e., Illinois, Oregon, Rhode Island) and do not have standards specific to a world history course. This suggests that states with general social studies standards may provide less specific guidance regarding which historical events teachers should teach. Kentucky and Connecticut do have high school world standards, however, and nevertheless include zero and one genocides, respectively. Therefore, course specificity alone cannot explain patterns of exclusion. High rates of exclusion persist across the sample; standards in only three of the eleven states with genocide education mandates (i.e., Florida, Michigan, New York) and two of the eleven sampled states without such mandates (i.e., Maryland, Maine) include more acts of genocide than they exclude.

The comparatively low rates of inclusion of acts of genocide contrast with state mandates requiring genocide education. The Illinois State Board of Education (2017b), for example, mandates that instruction "shall include, but not be limited to, the Armenian Genocide, the Famine-Genocide in Ukraine, and more recent atrocities in Cambodia, Bosnia, Rwanda, and Sudan," but its standards (2017a) exclude these events. Similarly, the New York state code mandates "particular attention to the study of the inhumanity of genocide" (2020), but its standards do not include any of these events. This demonstrates a disconnect between the language that legislators adopt in their mandates and the content standards that teachers use in their instructional planning.

Portrayals of Genocide

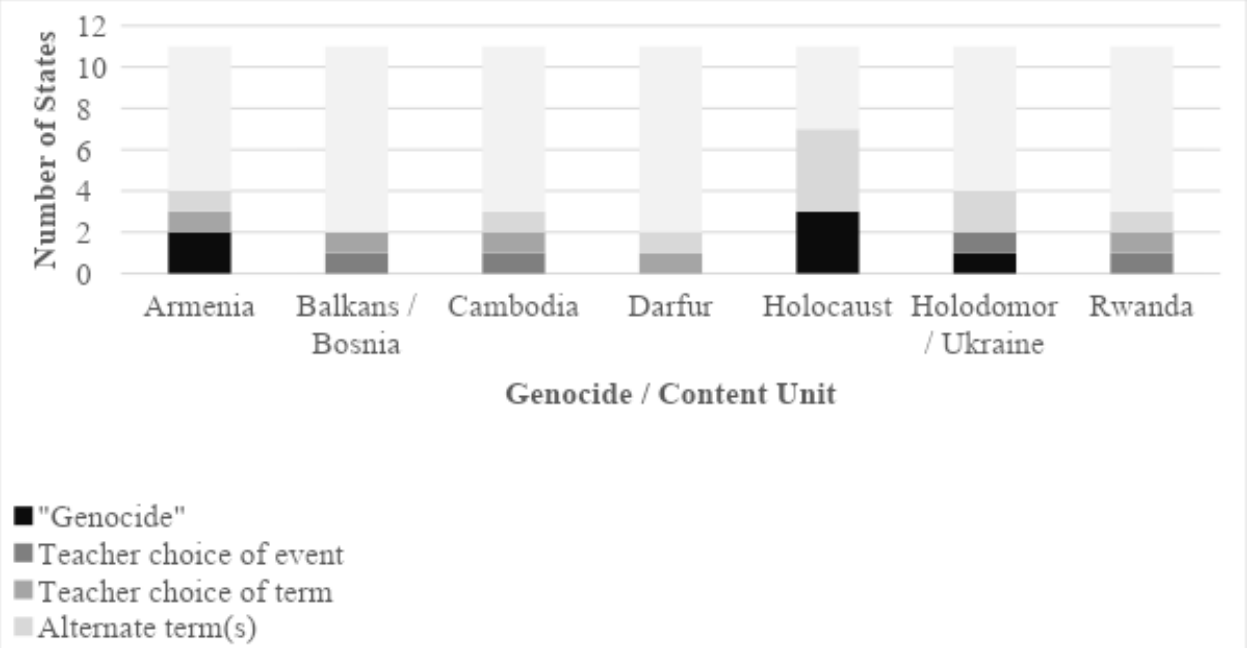
Terminology of Genocide

States' standards often omit the term "genocide" or use it interchangeably with other terms, adding another dimension to Totten's (2001) initial conception of the null curriculum of genocides (Figure 2). Standards in states with mandates used the term "genocide" to refer to approximately 8% of the genocides for which we coded; standards in the sample of states without mandates did not use the term "genocide" to refer to a single event. Although the absence of the word "genocide" from content standards of states without mandates is concerning, the low frequency with which states with genocide education mandates use the term "genocide" in content standards suggests that the mandates do not correspond to content standards that promote genocide education by referring to genocides as genocides.

Content standards more frequently use an alternate term, such as "conflict" or "atrocity," to refer to a genocide than the term "genocide" itself. In 40% of all instances that a state with a genocide education mandate references a genocide in its content standards, content standards exclusively use an alternate term (Figure 2). In an additional 20% of instances, standards use "genocide" and an alternate term in the same standard, allowing for teacher choice and incorrectly framing the two terms as interchangeable. Teachers' unconscious bias to avoid emotionally difficult history (Zembylas, 2015) influences teachers to select a less emotionally difficult term. When offered a choice of referring to a genocide as "genocide" or "human rights violations," therefore, teachers may not use the accurate term "genocide" in their instruction. This false equivocation between terms may result in teachers inadvertently teaching students that some genocides were not genocides or that one cannot examine patterns of causation and prevention between events. The frequency with which content standards reference an event, therefore, is not necessarily an indicator that the event is being taught as a genocide.

Figure 2

Inclusion, Exclusion, and Portrayal of Genocide in Content Standards of States with Genocide Education Mandates by Genocide



Four states with genocide education mandates that include genocides in their standards (i.e., Indiana, Kentucky, New York, Rhode Island) do not use the term "genocide" once. New York's Social Studies Framework, for example, includes a 20th century standard that says "Human atrocities and mass murders occurred in this time period. Students will examine the atrocities against the Armenians; examining the Ukrainian Holodomor, and examine the Holocaust" (2015, p.23). Another standard from the New York framework frames the Cambodian, Rwandan, and Darfur genocides as violations of human rights rather than as genocides. This omission of the term "genocide" contradicts both international law (Straus, 2016) and states' mandates requiring genocide education.

Some states' standards specify alternate terms that teachers may use in their instruction. Florida's (2015) world history standard 9.3, for example, requires that students can "explain cultural, historical, and economic factors and governmental policies that created the

opportunities for ethnic cleansing or genocide in Cambodia, the Balkans, Rwanda, and Darfur.". Although "ethnic cleansing" acknowledges that a racial, ethnic, or religious group was targeted (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, nd, b), "ethnic cleansing" refers to removing group(s) from an area but does not necessarily include murders. Furthermore, the "Balkans" can refer to multiple genocides perpetrated in the twentieth century and is not specific to the genocide of Bosniak Muslims, in contrast with other states' standards. This standard suggests that these acts of genocide may be taught only as "ethnic cleansing," which is both historically inaccurate and mistakenly distinguishes these events as separate from other acts of genocide.

California standard 10.5.5 similarly requires students "Discuss human rights violations and genocide, including the Ottoman government's actions against Armenian citizens" (2016, p. 44). This framing suggests that the "actions" in the Armenian genocide may have been human rights violations and not genocide. Human rights violations are distinct from genocide in that they neither target a specific ethnic group nor do they involve the attempt to violently eliminate said group (Strauss, 2016).

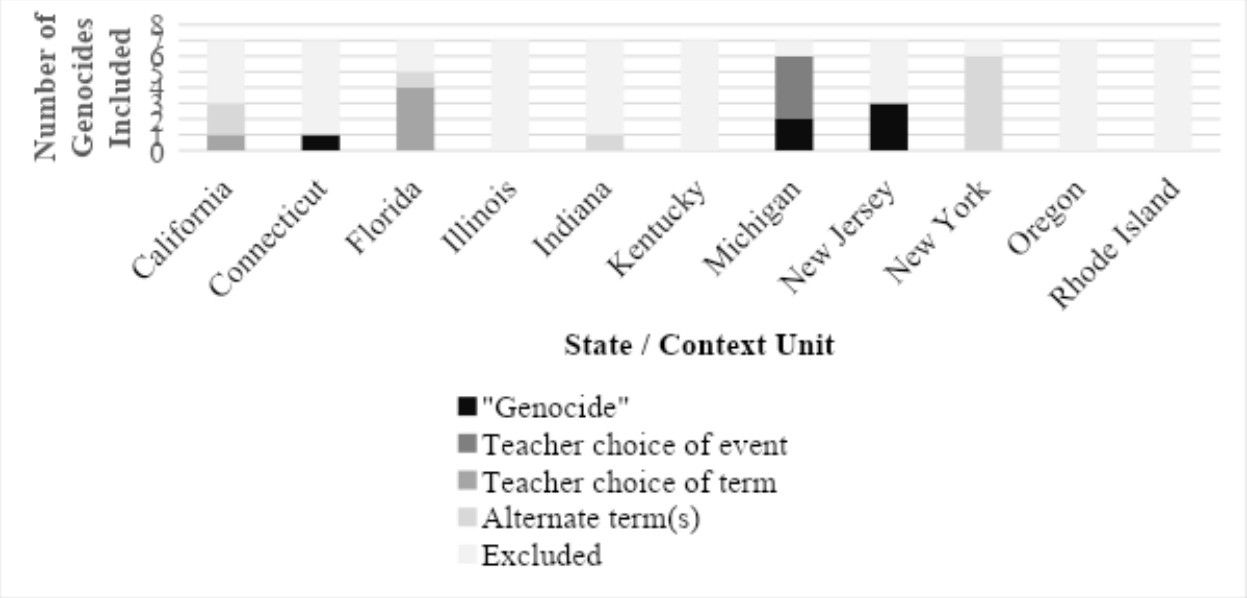
Standards that offer incorrectly equivocating terminology for genocide may decrease the likelihood that teachers teach each event as a "genocide," limiting students' ability to draw connections of causation and prevention across genocides. These alternate terms contradict the language of genocide education mandates and contribute to the perpetuation of the null curriculum of genocides by framing genocides in equivocating language.

Teacher Choice of Genocidal Events

In addition to standards using inconsistent or incorrect terminology to refer to genocides, the standards of three states with genocide education mandates (i.e., Indiana, Michigan, and New Jersey) allow teachers to choose which genocides to teach.

Figure 3

Inclusion, Exclusion, and Portrayal of Genocide in Content Standards by Individual States with Genocide Education Mandates



New Jersey standards specify that teachers should teach about "the genocides of Armenians, Ukrainians, Jews in the Holocaust" before noting that teachers should include additional "large-scale atrocities" (State of New Jersey Department of Education, 2020, p. 82). Previous research of students' learning in New Jersey suggests that teachers are not teaching additional atrocities, despite the content standard, mandate for genocide education, and optional supplementary curricular resources (Rich, 2019). Consequently, evidence suggests that teachers may be omitting any events not explicitly required by the text of the standards from their instruction.

Michigan and Florida include many acts of genocide in their standards but do so in a manner that provides teacher choice from a list of events or terms. Michigan's standards require teachers to teach the "case studies" of the Holocaust, the Armenian genocide, and "at least one other genocide," left to each teacher's discretion (2019, p. 97). Florida's standards allow teachers

to choose if they will teach three events as "ethnic cleansing or genocide" (2015). By providing an option for teachers to choose which events they will teach as genocide, Michigan and Florida may have decreased the likelihood that teachers will comprehensively teach about multiple acts of genocide. In other words, events that are included in the data as possibilities for "teacher choice of event" may not be included in instruction at all—teachers may choose to exclude these events.

The Holocaust and "Other Genocides."

The Holocaust is the event most frequently included in content standards and most frequently explicitly referred to as a "genocide" (Figure 2). The frequency of inclusion supports Totten's conception of the null curriculum of genocide education, although he drafted his argument about the representation of the Holocaust in textbooks and not in content standards. Seven states include the Holocaust in their standards—nearly twice as many as all other events; two states only include the Holocaust in their standards. In addition to the comparatively greater rate of inclusion in standards, standards relating to the Holocaust are written in greater detail than other standards, suggesting they should be taught in greater depth. This incorrectly suggests that the Holocaust is a more important genocide than other events or that the Holocaust cannot be studied as part of a pattern of genocide worldwide (Totten, 2001). Totten (2001) cautions that the over-representation of the Holocaust centers western European history and is "insensitive to the tragic dimensions of so many other genocides that have been perpetrated." In other words, the Holocaust is not over-represented in content standards; rather, "other genocides" are under-represented.

Although the Holocaust is more frequently included in content standards than most other genocides, it is explicitly referred to as a genocide in less than half of the instances it is included

(Figure 2). Four of the eleven states with mandates use "Holocaust" as a standalone term, omitting the use of the term "genocide" to refer to the events. Indiana standard WH6.6, for example, calls on students to "examine the causes, course, and effects of the Holocaust including accounts of camp inmates, survivors, liberators, and perpetrators, and summarize the world responses including the Nuremberg Trials" (Indiana, 2020) without referring to the Holocaust as a murderous genocide. While one may assume that the term "Holocaust" implies genocide, the omission of the term "genocide" incorrectly indicates that the Holocaust cannot be studied in conjunction with other acts of genocide. This separation of the Holocaust from other events may limit students' ability to understand that "never again" continues to occur (Totten, 2001).

Notably, the only victims of a genocide explicitly included in any state's standards are the Jewish victims of the Holocaust. Florida standard 7.8, for example, requires students to "explain the causes, events, and effects of the Holocaust (1933-1945) including its roots in the long tradition of anti-Semitism … and Nazi dehumanization of the Jews and other victims" (Florida Department of Education, 2015). By referencing "Jews and other victims" in this standard, the Florida standards omit the millions of other victims of German dehumanization; they do not mention victims of any other genocide, incorrectly implying that Jewish people are the only victims of historical genocide. This singling out of one group of victims of a genocide suggests that the victims of other genocides are not as important, impeding students' ability to "appreciate that genocide is not simply a curse of the past, but one that haunts contemporary society" (Totten, 2001, p. 307).

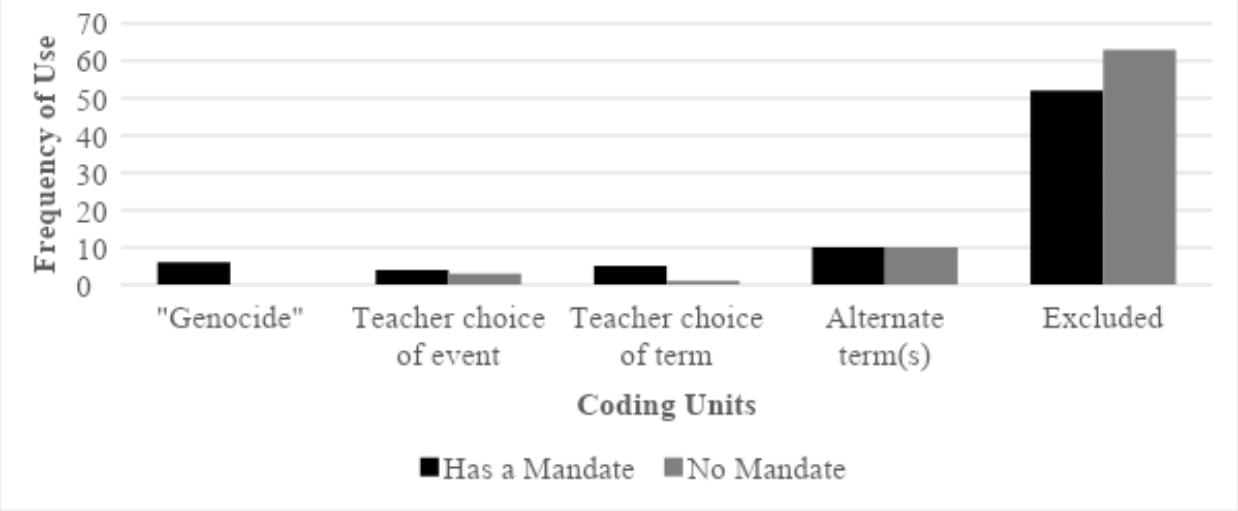
Comparison between States with and without Mandates

Legislators who advocate for genocide education mandates suggest that the mandates will improve student learning about genocide. Presumably, then, states with such mandates would

have content standards that promote genocide education more than states without. The data suggest this is untrue: state content standards exclude most genocides irrespective of legislative mandates requiring genocide education.

Figure 4

Frequency of inclusion of genocidal events across samples



High rates of exclusion of genocides persist across both samples, as shown in Figure 4. Although no un-mandated states explicitly used the term “genocide” to refer to any acts of genocide, three of the states in the sample of eleven states without mandates included a standard that requires students to learn about “genocide” as a broad concept; only one state with a mandate includes a similar standard that requires genocide to be taught without stipulating which acts of genocide. Regardless of mandate status, content standards require very few opportunities for students to learn about specific acts of genocide or genocide as a broad concept. In other words, students in states with and without mandates requiring genocide education are unlikely to receive instruction about the history, causes, or prevention of genocide.

Discussion and Implications

With increasing frequency (Figure 1), American states are adopting legislative mandates requiring genocide education in hopes that genocide education will improve students' content knowledge and encourage them to confront contemporary genocides (e.g., Bender, 2020; Cortez, 2020; Hitt, 2021). While such mandates can improve the broader discourse among educators and policymakers about the importance of genocide education, adopting mandates will not necessarily change what students are learning. Prior research suggests that students who attend schools in states with genocide education mandates are not necessarily learning about genocide (Claims Conference, 2020; Kassel, 2021; Rich, 2019). We argue this gap between legislators' intent and students' learning is because teachers' instructional decision-making is often based on what is included in their content standards (Thornton, 1991); mandates for genocide education do not content standards that teachers use. This is not to say that mandates do not matter, however, as mandates may ensure teachers can provide genocide education even if standards change. These misleading mandates reflect what Vasquez Heilig and colleagues (2012) called the "illusion of inclusion," as one must examine the content of standards to reveal what is included and excluded from the official curriculum.

In this content analysis, we analyze a national sample of states to empirically support Totten's (2001) conception of the null curriculum of genocide education. Although the theory of the null curriculum of genocides was developed more than twenty years ago, the misrepresentation of genocide persists in official curricula. States that have adopted mandates requiring genocide education without adopting content standards that require students to learn about multiple acts of genocide with correct terminology are effectively perpetuating the null curriculum of genocide education. Our findings indicate that states with mandated genocide education nevertheless exclude genocides from their content standards at high rates, offer teacher

choice in which genocides to teach (if they teach any genocides at all), and inconsistently use the term "genocide." These standards convey political messages that some genocides are not worthy of public memory, starkly contrasting the stated aims of the mandates for genocide education.

Teachers in most states with mandated genocide education do not have curriculum standards that require them to teach multiple acts of genocide using correct terminology. For students to reach the lofty aims of becoming upstanders against genocide, they must learn that genocide is a persistent and preventable phenomenon; this understanding relies on comparative genocide education of multiple acts (i.e., at least four) of genocide that span geographic and chronological eras (Totten, 2001). States with genocide education mandates include an average of 2.27 genocides in their content standards, whereas sampled states without such mandates include 1.27 genocides; neither group stipulates that enough genocides be taught in their courses for students to understand concepts of causation and prevention. Teachers with standards that frame genocides as a "case study" or choice for teachers to make may exacerbate this under-inclusion of genocide in content standards, as teachers may view the choice as an opportunity to omit events or the term "genocide". Revisions to future standards can challenge the null curriculum by including at least four acts of genocide in their content standards and explicitly referring to each as "genocide."

Our findings corroborate Totten's (2001) theory that Holocaust education "is a taken-for-granted part of the curriculum" and "other genocides" are relegated to the null curriculum (p. 10). Standards' portrayals of the Holocaust falsely suggest that the Holocaust is the genocide most deserving of memory and that Jews were the only victims of the Holocaust (Fallace, 2008; Totten & Feinberg, 2016). This emphasis poses a dire risk: "if students do not learn about other genocides, they may assume that the Holocaust was simply an aberration of

history" rather than one of many preventable genocides (Totten, 2001 p. 7). Rather than decrease inclusion of the Holocaust, standards should increase inclusion of so-called "other genocides" so students can have multiple opportunities to learn about the causes of genocide and their role in prevention.

Despite the comparatively frequent inclusion of the transatlantic slave trade and genocide against Indigenous Peoples in states' standards, standards commonly portrayed them as economic rather than violent events. Consistent with Bromley and Russell's (2010) analysis of international textbooks, these genocides for which the American government and people were responsible were not referred to as genocides. This suggests a perhaps more sinister form of the null curriculum of genocides than Totten (2001) initially conceived–one in which genocides are included or excluded from curricula based on the involvement of the country in which the standards are adopted.

In this study, we illuminate the breadth of how genocides largely remain a null curriculum in World History content standards, regardless of states mandate requiring genocide education. Mandates for genocide education may mislead legislators into believing that teachers will teach about genocide without additional changes to standards or curricular resources (Kassel, 2021; Rich, 2019). Consequently, our research highlights a gap between legislators' goal of requiring genocide education and the official curricula that do not require genocide education. In their conceptualization of the uses and limitations of examining null curricula, Flinders and colleagues (1986) argue that the results of an analysis of null curricula can be used to "establish, or reestablish, a dialectic between content and goals" (p. 40). In other words, legislators seeking to improve genocide education in their state should consider reforming their official curricular standards to meet their goals rather than adopting a legislative mandate alone.

In addition to revising content standards to explicitly include multiple acts of genocide, states may offer supplementary genocide education resources, such as implementation guidelines and professional development, to complement their content standards (Ragland & Rosenstein, 2014; Stillman, 2022; Totten & Riley, 2005). Two states with legislative mandates (i.e., Kentucky and Oregon) offer supplementary genocide education curricular resources despite having no content standards requiring genocide education (Kentucky Department of Education, n.d.; Oregon Department of Education, n.d.). While these supplementary curricula may be helpful, they should supplement standards rather than exist in place of content standards. A teacher in these states who follows the standards without reading these optional materials would not know they should teach about genocide. Standards that explicitly refer to multiple acts of genocide in historically accurate terms, therefore, may provide teachers with more directive curricular structure than supplementary curricula alone. Further research may explore teachers' enactment of these curricula and how supplementary training may influence teachers' instruction.

While mandates may bring increased public attention to the value of genocide education, teachers may benefit from standards that provide clear expectations for genocide education. Prevention of genocides—and fulfillment of the charge to "never again" allow genocide to occur—may be more attainable when standards require teachers to teach about causation and prevention of genocide (Totten, 2001; Totten & Feinberg, 2016). Teachers who have explicit content standards requiring genocide education and access to supplementary resources, such as implementation guidelines and professional development, can be better prepared to teach students about the causes and responses to multiple genocides, as well as their role in an international community that can prevent future genocides (Harris et al., 2019; Totten, 2001).

With access to genocide education that spans historical, geographical, and sociopolitical contexts, students can learn to confront and prevent genocide so “never again” becomes a reality (United Nations, 2018).

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Appendix A
Excerpts of Standards in States with Mandates Organized by State and Genocide

	Armenia	Bosnia	Cambodia	Darfur	Holocaust	Holodomor / Ukraine	Rwanda
California	10.5.5: "Discuss human rights violations and genocide, including the Ottoman government's actions against Armenian citizens."	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	10.8.5: "Analyze the Nazi policy of pursuing racial purity, especially against the European Jews; its transformation into the Final Solution; and the Holocaust that resulted in the murder of six million Jewish civilians." 10.9.6: "Understand how the forces of nationalism developed in the Middle East, how the Holocaust affected world opinion regarding the need for a Jewish state, and the significance and effects of the location and establishment of Israel on world affairs."	10.7.2: "Trace Stalin's rise to power in the Soviet Union and the connection between economic policies, political policies, the absence of a free press, and systematic violations of human rights (e.g., the Terror Famine in Ukraine)."	Excluded
Connecticut	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	"Analyze the social and political factors that led to genocide. Analyze how the Holocaust represented man's inhumanity to man. Evaluate the roles played by upstanders, bystanders, as well as those who committed atrocities."	Excluded	Excluded
Florida	Excluded	9.3: "Explain cultural, historical, and economic factors and governmental policies that created the opportunities for ethnic cleansing or genocide in Cambodia, the Balkans, Rwanda, and Darfur, and describe various governmental and non-governmental responses to them."	9.3: "Explain cultural, historical, and economic factors and governmental policies that created the opportunities for ethnic cleansing or genocide in Cambodia, the Balkans, Rwanda, and Darfur, and describe various governmental and non-governmental responses to them."	9.3: "Explain cultural, historical, and economic factors and governmental policies that created the opportunities for ethnic cleansing or genocide in Cambodia, the Balkans, Rwanda, and Darfur, and describe various governmental and non-governmental responses to them."	7.8: "Explain the causes, events, and effects of the Holocaust (1933-1945) including its roots in the long tradition of anti-Semitism, 19th century ideas about race and nation, and Nazi dehumanization of the Jews and other victims."	Excluded	9.3: "Explain cultural, historical, and economic factors and governmental policies that created the opportunities for ethnic cleansing or genocide in Cambodia, the Balkans, Rwanda, and Darfur, and describe various governmental and non-governmental responses to them."
Illinois	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded
Indiana	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	"WH6.6 Examine the causes, course, and effects of the Holocaust including accounts of camp inmates, survivors, liberators, and perpetrators, and summarize world responses including the Nuremberg Trials."	Excluded	Excluded
Kentucky	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded
Michigan HS-WHG	7.2.6: "Case Studies of Genocide – analyze the development, enactment, and consequences of, as well as the international community's responses to, the Holocaust (or Shoah), Armenian Genocide, and at least one other genocide." Example of 7.2.1: "total war ideology and the Armenian Genocide;"	Examples of 7.2.6: "Examples may include but are not limited to: investigating the ideology and policies that led to genocide; policies to address and prevent genocide; cases studies of genocides such as Herero and Namaqua, Cambodia, Rwanda, Ukraine, and/or Bosnia."	Examples of 7.2.6: "Examples may include but are not limited to: investigating the ideology and policies that led to genocide; policies to address and prevent genocide; cases studies of genocides such as Herero and Namaqua, Cambodia, Rwanda, Ukraine, and/or Bosnia."	Excluded	Example of 7.2.3 World War II: "the development and enactment of Hitler's "Final Solution" policy and the Holocaust," 7.2.6: "7.2.6 Case Studies of Genocide – analyze the development, enactment, and consequences of, as well as the international community's responses to, the Holocaust (or Shoah), Armenian Genocide, and at least one other genocide."	Examples of 7.2.6: "Examples may include but are not limited to: investigating the ideology and policies that led to genocide; policies to address and prevent genocide; cases studies of genocides such as Herero and Namaqua, Cambodia, Rwanda, Ukraine, and/or Bosnia."	Examples of 7.2.6: "Examples may include but are not limited to: investigating the ideology and policies that led to genocide; policies to address and prevent genocide; cases studies of genocides such as Herero and Namaqua, Cambodia, Rwanda, Ukraine, and/or Bosnia."
New Jersey	"6.2.12.CivicsHR.4.a: Analyze the motivations, causes, and consequences of the genocides of Armenians, Ukrainians, Jews in the Holocaust and assess the responses by individuals, groups, and governments and analyze large-scale atrocities including 20th century massacres in China."	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	"6.2.12.CivicsHR.4.a: Analyze the motivations, causes, and consequences of the genocides of Armenians, Ukrainians, Jews in the Holocaust and assess the responses by individuals, groups, and governments and analyze large-scale atrocities including 20th century massacres in China."	"6.2.12.CivicsHR.4.a: Analyze the motivations, causes, and consequences of the genocides of Armenians, Ukrainians, Jews in the Holocaust and assess the responses by individuals, groups, and governments and analyze large-scale atrocities including 20th century massacres in China."	Excluded
New York	10.5e "Human atrocities and mass murders occurred in this time period. Students will examine the atrocities against the Armenians; examine the Ukrainian Holodomor, and examine the Holocaust."	Excluded	10.10c "Students will examine and analyze the roles of perpetrators and bystanders in human rights violations in Cambodia, Rwanda, and Darfur in light of the principles and articles within the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights."	10.10c "Students will examine and analyze the roles of perpetrators and bystanders in human rights violations in Cambodia, Rwanda, and Darfur in light of the principles and articles within the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights."	10.5e "Human atrocities and mass murders occurred in this time period. Students will examine the atrocities against the Armenians; examine the Ukrainian Holodomor, and examine the Holocaust."	10.5e "Human atrocities and mass murders occurred in this time period. Students will examine the atrocities against the Armenians; examine the Ukrainian Holodomor, and examine the Holocaust."	10.10c "Students will examine and analyze the roles of perpetrators and bystanders in human rights violations in Cambodia, Rwanda, and Darfur in light of the principles and articles within the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights."
Oregon	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded
Rhode Island	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded

Appendix B
Excerpts of Standards in States without Mandates Organized by State and Genocide

	Armenia	Bosnia	Cambodia	Darfur	Holocaust	Holodomor / Ukraine	Rwanda
Iowa	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded
Kansas	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	"Ideas: alliances, militarism, total war, genocide, Holocaust … ethnic cleansing, apartheid, human rights"	Excluded	Excluded
Louisiana	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded
Maine	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded
Maryland	"Students will describe the global scope and human costs of World War One by: … Evaluating the experience of the Armenian people within the Ottoman Empire (2, 3)."	Excluded	"Comparing and contrasting the causes and consequences of genocides and ethnic cleansings in South East Asia, Africa, and the Middle East (3, 4, and 5)."	"Comparing and contrasting the causes and consequences of genocides and ethnic cleansings in South East Asia, Africa, and the Middle East (3, 4, and 5)."	"Students will analyze the global scope and human costs of World War Two by: … Analyzing the systematic and state-sponsored atrocities perpetrated by governments in Europe and Asia during World War Two (2, 3, and 5). Evaluating the cause, course, and consequences of the Holocaust (2, 3)."	Excluded	"Comparing and contrasting the causes and consequences of genocides and ethnic cleansings in South East Asia, Africa, and the Middle East (3, 4, and 5)."
Minnesota	Excluded	Excluded	9.4.3.13.4: "Describe the response of the world community to human rights violations, including the response to apartheid in South Africa. (The World After World War II: 1950—1989) For example: Cambodia, Rwanda, Darfur."	9.4.3.13.4: "Describe the response of the world community to human rights violations, including the response to apartheid in South Africa. (The World After World War II: 1950—1989) For example: Cambodia, Rwanda, Darfur."	9.4.3.12.4: "Describe the causes and consequences of the Nazi Holocaust, including the effects of the Nazi regime's "war against the Jews" and other groups, and its influence on the 1948 United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and other human rights movements of the post-WW II era."	Excluded	9.4.3.13.4: "Describe the response of the world community to human rights violations, including the response to apartheid in South Africa. (The World After World War II: 1950—1989) For example: Cambodia, Rwanda, Darfur."
Missouri	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded
New Mexico	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	9.12 Benchmark 1-C.8.a: "Analyze and evaluate the causes, events and impacts of World War II from various perspectives, to include: a. failures and successes of the treaty of Versailles and the league of nations; rise of totalitarianism (e.g., Nazi Germany's policies of European domination, holocaust)"	Excluded	Excluded
South Carolina	Excluded	MWH-8.6 Essential knowledge: "In 1992, Bosnia-Herzegovina also declared independence. Serbs who lived in that region opposed the move. Using aid from Serbia, they fought a brutal civil war with Muslims, the largest group in Bosnia. The United Nations was able to stop the fighting, but peace remains uncertain."	MWH-8.3 Essential knowledge: "Fighting in Vietnam spilled over to Cambodia. Rebels there set up a brutal communist government which killed two million people and imposed its will. In 1978, the Vietnamese invaded the country, overthrowing the rebels."	"MWH-8: The student will demonstrate an understanding of the causes and consequences of decolonization in the second half of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century." Essential knowledge: the African Union "sent troops to the Darfur province in 2005 to reduce ethnic violence in the region."	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded
South Dakota	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded
Wyoming	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded	Excluded

“The SS Guards Aren't Just Taking Cookies:” Pre-service Teachers Practice Teaching a Holocaust Survivor’s Testimony

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Abstract

This multiple case study examines how four pre-service social studies teachers (PSTs) planned and taught a lesson about *Night* (Wiesel, 2006), the most commonly taught text about the Holocaust (Harris et al., 2019). These cases illuminate how PSTs teach without specific preparation or instruction about how to teach texts from traumatic histories, including the Holocaust. I analyze participants' instruction in relation to a framework for traumatic history instruction, finding that PSTs inconsistently used historical source analysis skills in their lessons. The findings of this study provide teacher educators insight into PSTs' needs for opportunities to learn and practice teaching narratives from difficult or traumatic histories.

> OUR FIRST ACT AS FREE MEN was to throw ourselves onto the provisions. That's all we thought about. No thought of revenge, or of parents. Only of bread.
>
> And even when we were no longer hungry, not one of us thought of revenge. The next day, a few of the young men ran into Weimar to bring back some potatoes and clothes—and to sleep with girls. But still no trace of revenge.
>
> Three days after the liberation of Buchenwald, I became very ill: some form of poisoning. I was transferred to a hospital and spent two weeks between life and death.
>
> One day when I was able to get up, I decided to look at myself in the mirror on the opposite wall. I had not seen myself since the ghetto.
>
> From the depths of the mirror, a corpse was contemplating me.
>
> The look in his eyes as he gazed at me has never left me.
>
> --Elie Wiesel, *Night*

Introduction

In *Night*, Elie Wiesel (2006) recounts his experiences as a young man during the Holocaust. This seminal text is commonly read by secondary students in history and English classes to understand the Holocaust through one person's memoir; *Night* is so pervasive in secondary education that it is the most-read book by high school sophomores in America (Harris et al., 2019). Totten and Feinberg (2016) argue that "reading Elie Wiesel's *Night* (2006) seems to have become a rite of passage for adolescents" (p. 135). In this final stanza of *Night* quoted above, Wiesel (2006) frames the brutality of his survival from Auschwitz and Buchenwald. Although he was one of the few members of his family and one of the few Jews from his town in Transylvania to survive, he survived as a corpse, a broken shell of himself.

When teaching *Night* and texts from other traumatic histories of genocide and suffering (Simon et. al, 2000), teachers balance the demands of teaching students to analyze a historical source with the challenges of teaching an emotionally challenging topic. Teachers who teach about the events of the Holocaust and develop an affective connection with the lived experiences of people who experienced oppression during the Holocaust can help their students develop "difficult knowledge," an understanding of the history and individuals' obligations to advocate

for a more humane society (Britzman, 1998, 2000). If teachers do not include these components, students may not develop dangerous misconceptions about the Holocaust (Rich, 2019) or may experience emotional traumatization (Schweber, 2004).

Scholarship of teaching traumatic histories suggests that teachers can use narratives written by Holocaust survivors and victims, commonly referred to as Holocaust testimonies or first-person narratives, to teach that the events were experienced by individuals rather than an abstract numeric count of victims (USHMM, n.d., b; Simon et al., 2000; Totten, 2019; Totten & Feinberg, 2016). Although teachers commonly report using narratives to teach students about the Holocaust (Donnelly, 2006), most research of how teachers use narratives is limited to veteran teachers' instruction (e.g., Reid et al., 2021). These studies illustrate the potential for narratives as a pedagogical resource but do not provide insight into how teachers without such experience teach them. Little is known of how—or if—PSTs teach Holocaust survivors' narratives. Therefore, teacher educators do not have evidence of PSTs' instructional needs from which they can design preparatory experiences or PSTs' insights into the supports that they believe could help them learn to do this work.

In this paper, I examine how PSTs teach an excerpt of *Night*. My analysis, aligned to a framework for traumatic history instruction, reflects how these PSTs plan and teach without specific training for Holocaust or traumatic history instruction, such as coursework, professional development, or opportunities to watch a mentor teacher teach the Holocaust. Therefore, the findings from this work illuminate PSTs' needs for further preparation in teaching traumatic histories. In this article, I answer two research questions:

1. How do pre-service teachers teach an excerpt of a Holocaust survivor's narrative?

2. How do pre-service teachers describe the supports they believe would help them teach a Holocaust survivor's narrative?

Literature Review

Traumatic Histories

Some events are so brutal in their scale and violence that they not only cause trauma to those who lived through the experience but can trigger traumatic responses when others—years and generations later—learn of the historic events (e.g., Britzman, 2000; LaCapra 1998, 2001). Trauma theorists distinguish between the trauma individuals experience and the traumas that affect public consciousness (Haswell, 2005). When considering the latter category of trauma, Simon and colleagues use the term "traumatic history" to refer to "human suffering through practices of genocide, enslavement, population displacement, and organized terror" (2000, p. 1).

Although we may be unable to fully conceive of the enormity of traumas we did not experience, traumatic histories live in our public memory (Simon et al., 2000). Contemporary oppression and hatred can both be *caused by* and *cause for* historical trauma(tization): contemporary neo-Nazi marches through American streets and police brutality toward Black people cannot—and should not—be separated from histories of the Holocaust and lynchings. The ramifications of historical trauma can affect our understanding of our safety, our responsibilities to each other, and our awareness of the inhumanity of mankind.

Literature from Holocaust education suggests that individuals can learn to "work through" these trauma by engaging in a process of learning about historical events and considering how their affective responses to the traumatic history inform their contemporary responsibilities (LaCapra, 1998). This process of working through the past can empower individuals to develop what Britzman (1998) refers to as "difficult knowledge" of the history.

Britzman's (1998) psychoanalytic concept of difficult knowledge frames it as the product of learning *about* events from which we have detached ourselves and learning *from* our emotional attachment or reaction to the traumatic events. In other words, difficult knowledge of traumatic history includes both affective knowledge from emotional responses to the trauma and cognitive knowledge of the history.

Psychoanalytic theories of learning suggest that the foundation for this difficult knowledge of traumatic histories is a balance between cognitive knowledge of historical events and an affective connection to individuals' narratives recorded in historical sources (e.g., Britzman, 1998; Simon et al., 2000). These constructs are interrelated, but the affective dimension may depend upon students' knowledge of the traumatic history and the experiences portrayed in the sources they examine (Kaiser & Salmons, 2016). For example, literature from Holocaust education suggests that students may develop stronger affective connections with narratives recorded by survivors and victims of the Holocaust than they do with more impersonal secondary sources (e.g., Simon, 2005; Totten, 1994). Literature about Holocaust memory is seldom operationalized, however, leaving teachers with little guidance on how to enact this challenging balance.

When teachers enact instruction that mis-balances instructional approaches, their students can learn dangerous misconceptions. For example, students who attended schools in a state that framed Holocaust education around a theme of "the personal responsibility that each citizen bears to fight racism and hatred" could not answer basic questions about the causes and lethality of the Holocaust, likely because they did not learn these concepts in conjunction with historical content and historical source analysis (Rich, 2019, p. 51). In contrast, teachers who focus exclusively on the facts of the Holocaust may teach an inaccurate narrative of moral uplift

(Garrett, 2017; LaCapra, 2001; Simon, 2011). Effective instruction, therefore, balances these dynamics by developing students' knowledge of the history through source analysis as the basis for students' affective connections (Totten & Feinberg, 2016). Consequently, students' affective responses can stem from the historical sources they analyze rather than an abstract "personal responsibility" to confront social forces void of historical context.

The balance of cognitive and affective demands is further complicated by the varying emotional responses individuals have when discussing these histories. Literature suggests that historical trauma is so uncomfortable that teachers and learners alike have an unconscious bias against acknowledging the emotional difficulty (e.g., Britzman, 2000; Simon et al., 2000; Zembylas, 2017). Garrett (2017) suggests that individuals often adopt emotionally avoidant measures to avoid learning "what we do not want to know, or what we already know but have set aside" (p. x). This avoidance can take many forms, including avoiding historical sources that reflect the terrible experiences of the oppressed and emphasizing the agency of the oppressors as the historical protagonists. Teachers may have an unconscious tendency to victimize and demonize historical actors or reframe the events in a positive manner as "defense mechanisms that try to ward off the traumatic perception of helplessness and loss" (Britzman, 2000, p. 29). Despite the importance of engaging with emotion and balancing elements of difficult knowledge, no research has been conducted into teachers' enactment of or needs for support in this balance.

Balancing the affective and cognitive demands of traumatic history is not a one-time event after which teachers and students can confidently say that they "understand" traumatic history. Rather, it is a process of learning about multiple historical events, analyzing individuals' experiences in these histories, and considering their affective response and contemporary responsibilities (Britzman, 1998; LaCapra, 1998). Research suggests that individuals can deepen

or challenge their understanding of the historical narratives() by reading multiple sources that offer unique perspectives on the events (Haswell, 2005; Kaiser & Salmons, 2016; Stampfl, 2014). Individuals can repeat these processes to deepen their knowledge of and "work through" their reactions to traumatic histories (LaCapra, 1998). This individual process of working through traumatic histories, which can occur in formal and informal educational settings, can include analyzing sources recorded by a range of people who experienced a traumatic history, corroborating the sources to understand how each complements or challenges the information shared by other sources, and reflecting on the witness's reaction to this history.

Working through traumatic histories to develop difficult knowledge need not be a solely individual process, however. After the Holocaust, German society began decades-long political and psychological processes of denazification, grappling with its violent past through formal and informal education settings, and offering reparations to victims. Germans refer to these processes as Vergangenheitsbewältigung, which means "working off the past" (Neiman, 2020); this working off the past parallels LaCapra's (1998) argument that the goal of learning traumatic histories is to work through the past. German Vergangenheitsbewältigung and the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission provide hope that, although it can take decades, societies can work off and work through traumatic pasts (Nates, 2010; Neiman, 2020).

In the absence of national standards or expectations in the United States for which traumatic histories to teach or how to teach them (Yonas & van Hover, 2024), teachers play an integral role in this process by determining what information to teach, what sources to include, and how to engage students (Totten & Feinberg, 2016). Although literature of Holocaust education suggests that a best instructional practice is prompting students to analyze primary sources, such as diaries, memoranda, and photographs(e.g., Kaiser & Salmons, 2016), guidance

on how to teach these sources is often idiosyncratic and specific to individual sources. Consequently, teachers may struggle to conceptualize or enact traumatic history instruction as a process that incorporates multiple opportunities for students to learn about historical events, analyze individuals' perspectives, and engage in affective reflection.

Teaching the Holocaust

The Holocaust is the most-commonly taught traumatic history in the United States, as many states have standards and legislative mandates for public school teachers to teach the Holocaust (Yonas & van Hover, 2024). These requirements seldom provide teachers with guidance on how to teach the Holocaust, however. Teachers' instructional approaches vary greatly, leading students to learn dramatically different lessons about the Holocaust (Cowan & Maitles, 2017; Donnelly, 2006). Several factors influence teachers' instruction about the Holocaust, including teachers' goals (Fallace, 2008), school context (e.g., Schweber, 2004, 2008), and curriculum (Riley & Totten, 2002; Totten & Feinberg, 1995). Consequently, Schweber (2004) found that students learn "very different lessons depending on their teachers' enactments of this history" (p. 146).

To provide teachers with guidance on best instructional practices to do this, The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM, n.d., b) developed instructional guidelines for teachers to use. Per these guidelines, teachers have a responsibility to "make responsible methodological choices" that engage students in critical thinking about sources without exploiting their emotional responses. To do this, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), informed by research of Holocaust education (Totten and Feinberg, 1995, 2016), provides specific pedagogical strategies that teachers may utilize, including contextualizing the

history and teaching the history from multiple perspectives. A central guideline (USHMM, n.d., b) is that teachers can "translate statistics into people:"

> In any study of the Holocaust, the sheer number of victims challenges comprehension. Show that individual people—grandparents, parents, and children—are behind the statistics and emphasize the diversity of personal experiences within the larger historical narrative. Precisely because they portray people in the fullness of their lives and not just as victims, first-person accounts and memoir literature add individual voices to a collective experience and help students make meaning out of the statistics.

Teachers commonly translate statistics into people by teaching students to analyze narratives written by people who experienced oppression in the Holocaust, such as diaries and testimonies (Donnelly, 2006; Simon, 2005). Literature on Holocaust education suggests that teachers can teach students to analyze these sources much like other historical texts, including analyzing the who wrote the text, for what purpose, and in what historical context, skills commonly referred to as "sourcing" (Totten & Feinberg, 2016; Simon, 2005). These skills can be used in conjunction with broader questions about what readers learn *about* and *from* the Holocaust based on each narrative.

Our understanding of how social studies teachers teach Holocaust narratives reflects the exemplary practices of veteran teachers whose instruction closely mirrors the USHMM guidelines (e.g., Haas, 2020; Reid et al., 2021). While this research provides insight into some veteran teachers' practices, it does not illuminate how teachers navigate the many challenges of teaching Holocaust narratives, including their students' emotional responses (Britzman, 1998; Schweber, 2008), their own emotional reactions (Simon, 2005; Zembylas, 2017), the demands of teaching historical source analysis (Totten & Feinberg, 2016), and balancing teaching students the facts *about* and morals *from* their lessons (Cowan & Maitles, 2017). Additionally, the extant research may not reflect the instructional practices of beginning teachers or those who have not received specialized training, as teachers seldom complete formal learning opportunities about

the Holocaust (Donnelly, 2006). Consequently, we know little about how teachers without specific expertise in Holocaust education–like most teachers in the United States–teach the Holocaust.

Learning to Teach the Holocaust

Pre-service teacher programs offer an opportunity to engage a wide range of people who will be teachers in learning how to teach traumatic histories, including the Holocaust. Because teachers commonly avoid thinking about traumatic histories (Zembylas, 2017) and few teachers complete elective trainings on how to teach the Holocaust (Donnelly, 2006), teachers may be unlikely to opt-in to opportunities ot learn to teach the Holocaust. Pre-service teacher preparation, therefore, may be the final opportunity for a range of novice teachers to develop the knowledge and skills relevant to teaching the Holocaust before they become full-time teachers.

Unfortunately, research of PSTs' knowledge and skills for teaching the Holocaust suggests that (PSTs) are seldom prepared to teach the Holocaust. A recent study of 116 PSTs' knowledge of the Holocaust revealed that the teachers "lacked basic knowledge [and] displayed gross inaccuracies" (Rich, 2019, p. 57). Teachers rarely learn about the Holocaust through professional development or graduate coursework, instead reporting that they rely on informal learning as their main source of Holocaust knowledge (Donnelly, 2006). Exposure to Holocaust informal education resources alone, however, does not improve PST knowledge or emotional affect necessary for Holocaust education (Calandra et al., 2002). As a result, teachers likely need specific preparation and support.

A limited body of research suggests that teacher preparation programs can improve PSTs' preparedness for Holocaust education (Allgood & Shah, 2021; Nowell & Poindexter, 2019). Nowell and Poindexter (2019) argue that preparation for Holocaust education unit in pre-service

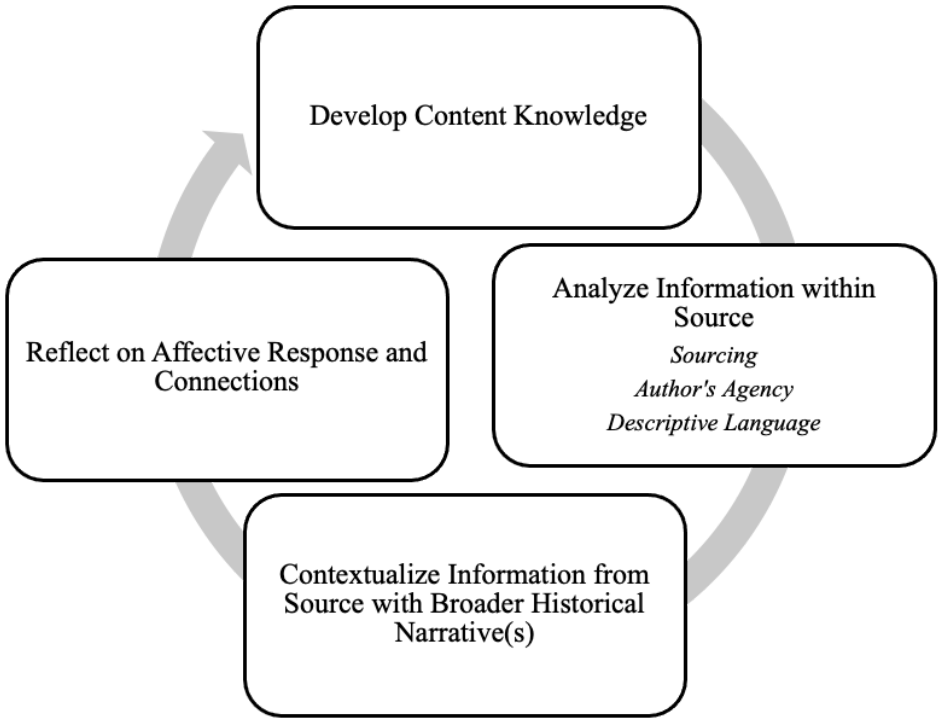
teacher coursework should include opportunities to plan lessons and critically reflect to close the gap between teachers' confidence and teachers' content knowledge. Additionally, PSTs demonstrated improved knowledge of the Holocaust and stronger affective engagement with ethical questions after they completed a genocide studies unit (Allgood & Shah, 2021). These studies indicate that PSTs can benefit from specific preparation before teaching lessons about the Holocaust to K-12 students. Missing from the research, however, is research of PSTs' enactment of Holocaust education or needs for preparation and support.

Conceptual Framework for Traumatic History Instruction

To provide teachers with guidance on how to teach traumatic histories in a manner that reflects the relational processes of content, source analysis, and affective development, I propose a conceptual framework for traumatic history instruction (Figure 1).

Figure 1

Framework for Traumatic History Instruction



I draw upon literature of psychoanalytic theories of learning traumatic histories (e.g., Britzman, 1998, 2000), Holocaust education (e.g., Simon, 2005; Simon et al., 2000; Totten & Feinberg, 2016), and historical source analysis (e.g., Grant, 2018; Wineburg, 1991) to portray the complex cyclical relationships between pedagogical strategies that research suggests are essential to learning traumatic histories.

This framework does not suggest that all teachers must teach traumatic histories in an identical manner, as teachers' instructional choices often vary in response to their identities, the identities of their students, and the contexts in which they teach (e.g., Schweber, 2006). Rather, this framework provides guidance on the relationship between concepts and skills that have previously been conceptualized as distinct or particular to specific historical events. While this framework is graphically represented as a cycle, the order of the cycle can be flexible based on students' prior knowledge.

Per this framework, traumatic history instruction includes teachers developing students' content knowledge of the event(s). This can ensure that students develop a factual understanding of the histories they can subsequently deepen through source analysis and personal reflection (Britzman, 2000; Simon, 2005). Content knowledge of the Holocaust, for example, can include the long history of antisemitism, Nazi policies for a "thousand-year Reich," and Nazis' escalating violence towards the Jews of Europe (Totten & Feinberg, 2016). Totten and Feinberg (2016) argue that teachers can use many pedagogical strategies to actively engage students in developing content knowledge, such as analyzing and discussing maps, timelines, and concept diagrams.

The heart of traumatic history instruction, per this framework, is deepening students' understanding of these events as impacting real people by analyzing sources recorded by people

who experienced oppression, such as diaries, narratives, and letters. While literature of Holocaust education suggests that instruction is often didactic and avoids emotional difficulty (Totten & Feinberg, 2016), this framework includes historical source analysis as a central component of teaching traumatic histories. Research of historical source analysis suggests some practices teachers can use when guiding students to analyze historical sources, such as sourcing who recorded the source in what context for what purpose (Grant, 2018; Wineburg, 1991), analyzing the author's perspective (VanSledright & Afflerbach, 2005), and evaluating the credibility of the source (Reisman & McGrew, 2018). These practices, along with asking comprehension questions about what happened in a source, are useful to analyze sources from traumatic and non-traumatic histories alike.

Literature of teaching traumatic histories suggests that teachers can complement this instruction by guiding students to analyze the author's perspective and historical agency (Bickford & Clabough, 2020; Totten & Feinberg, 2016) and how the author used descriptive language to portray their experiences (e.g., Simon, 2005; Totten & Feinberg, 2016). These components can deepen students' understanding of the author's experiences and why the author chose to include specific details in this source, essential factors for readers to understand the impact of traumatic histories on real people.

Contextualizing the information within each source with broader historical narratives has the potential to help students understand how individual perspectives compliment and challenge their understanding of history (for sample prompts, see Kaiser and Salmons, 2016). These elements reflect the important role of learning from the firsthand accounts of traumatic histories and provide a structure for students to deepen their knowledge of traumatic history as atrocities perpetrated by individuals against individuals.

Reflecting on affective responses to learning the history and personal connections to the topic can help students work through the history, shifting knowledge of the historical events into difficult knowledge of individuals' oppression of and obligations to each other. This framework posits that affective reflection may be most helpful following source analysis, as students can build connections to the real individuals who experienced the history. This framework compliments Endacott and Brooks' (2013) conception of historical empathy as "the process of students' cognitive and affective engagement with historical figures to better understand and contextualize their lived experiences, decisions, or actions" (p. 41). Individuals and groups of people can continue this process with multiple historical sources about multiple historical events.

This process of working through trauma is a highly personalized experience. Unlike histories for which there is a common learning objective, teaching histories of trauma is individualized for each teacher. In their seminal work on teaching Holocaust survivor testimonies, Bernard-Donals and Glejzer (2001) frame the instructional challenge as a question of "how do we teach such a moment without falling into knowledge as a universal answer that erases an encounter with trauma, an encounter that must be particular?" (p. 173). Accordingly, this framework is not prescriptive nor is it specific to a historical event or a genre of source. Instead, this framework suggests that learning traumatic history is a repeated cycle of learning historical content, analyzing a source that shares individuals' experiences, considering how that source relates to other historical knowledge, and processing how the learner's understanding of history, humanity, and self may have shifted.

Just as students may need support and guidance to engage in this process, so may teachers benefit from direction on how to engage and how to teach students to do the same. This framework can be a reference to examine teachers' instructional strategies and a framework to

identify specific areas where teachers may need additional support. A limited body of research indicates that teacher's guides and a unit of genocide studies education can improve PSTs' content knowledge of traumatic histories and willingness to teach traumatic histories (Allgood & Shah, 2021; Calandra et al., 2001), suggesting that teachers may benefit from support before teaching. This framework for traumatic history instruction can serve as a scaffold for future teacher education, highlighting the importance of analyzing individual sources.

In addition to providing direction on how to prepare teachers before they teach a lesson, this framework may provide instructional leaders and researchers a framework from which they can research teachers' enacted instruction and provide feedback. For example, this framework suggests that teachers can be coached on centering the historical agency of the people who experienced oppression and recorded their experiences, elevating narratives and stories of resistance. I utilize this framework to analyze elements of how PSTs teach an excerpt of a historical source from the Holocaust. This data can inform our understanding of how PSTs teach when they have not been taught principles of Holocaust education or traumatic history instruction, providing insight into supports that may help PSTs learn to do this challenging work.

Methodology

This study builds on our understanding of how teacher educators can prepare PSTs to teach the Holocaust by examining how PSTs practice teaching and how they teach *Night*, the most frequently used source in Holocaust education (Harris et al., 2019). Specifically, this study focuses on how PSTs teach students to analyze a first-person narrative from the Holocaust, a pedagogy that is central to translating statistics into people (USHMM, n.d., b).

I utilized an exploratory case study methodology to analyze how PSTs planned and taught a practice lesson segment (Yin, 2018). Rather than teaching in a real classroom to real

students, PSTs taught their lesson segments in a mixed-reality simulated (MRS) classroom where a trained actor controlled digital avatars of middle school students to respond in real time to teachers' questions and directions (Figure 1).

Figure 1

Mixed-Reality Middle School Classroom

PSTs can practice instructional skills in an MRS that can realistically approximate students' behavior without putting real students at risk of learning potentially harmful lessons (Cohen et al., 2020; Dieker et al., 2014). This is particularly useful for PSTs who are learning to teach traumatic histories, as these topics pose emotional risk to real children (e.g., Schweber, 2008; Simon et al., 2000). While simulating history itself is an often trivializing and dangerous pedagogy (Schweber, 2004), simulating history teaching in a mixed-reality environment allows PSTs to teach especially challenging topics or skills in a lower-stakes environment (Grossman, 2011). In an MRS, PSTs can practice teaching without being afraid of making mistakes that could harm students or their relationships with students.

In addition to providing a safe platform on which teachers can practice, MRS offers many benefits to researchers who want to study teachers' instruction. For example, researchers can design scenarios that standardize variables that are not the focus of the research (Dieker et al., 2014). I designed a low-intensity simulation, where the actor controlled each student avatar to

respond to teachers' questions without intentionally incorrect answers or off-task behaviors. By standardizing these behaviors in a simulated environment, I was able to study PSTs' planned and enacted instruction independent of school-specific variables that can influence PSTs' instruction, such as the influence of a mentor teacher on student behavior (e.g., Ronfeldt et al., 2018). Further research may examine how PSTs respond to variable levels of intensity in the student avatars' actions, such as students asking questions for which the PSTs were unprepared.

Participants' Task

Members of the research team provided PSTs with a written task: "Plan and teach a brief lesson about the Holocaust with a small group of students using a chapter of Night as a shared text." *Night* was chosen because is so ubiquitous in American secondary education that it is the most-read-book by high school sophomores in America (Harris et al., 2019) and Holocaust education theorists suggest that reading it is "a rite of passage for adolescents" (Totten & Feinberg, 2016, p. 135).

In the provided chapter (Appendix A), Wiesel recounts his experiences immediately following the death of his father, including the liberation of Buchenwald. I chose to use chapter nine, the final chapter of the book, because it is a rich text with many opportunities for teachers to analyze how and why Wiesel recorded his narrative.

Simulation staff did not specify a grade level, subject area, or goals for instruction, as these could alter participants' plans. Additionally, the task standardized the text but did not specify pedagogical strategies for teachers to use. I designed the task to provide little direction so I could analyze participants' instruction without specific guidance and without influencing teachers' instructional choices.

Sample and Context

The initial population of this study consisted of ten PSTs enrolled in a year-long secondary social studies teacher preparation program at a large public university in the American South. I limited the initial population to secondary teachers because elementary grades may be too young for students to understand the horrors of the Holocaust (Schweber, 2008).

All participants in this study identified as cisgender white, non-Hispanic people in their early- to mid- 20's, demographics that mirror the American teaching force but not the American student population (IES, 2020). One focal case, Palmer, identifies as ethnically but not religiously Jewish and explained that he believes this is salient to the way he teaches *Night*. I selected four participants as focal cases to reflect the maximum variation of how participants taught this shared text. In Figure 2, I detail each participant's description of their demographics, educational experiences, and previous familiarity with the text.

Figure 2

Participants' demographics, educational experiences, and familiarity with *Night*

Name	Participant's Demographics	Participant's Educational Experiences	Participant's Familiarity with the Text
Doug	Doug described himself as "a 25-year-old, white heterosexual male. I guess religiously, I'm Protestant. I'm a Presbyterian." Born and raised in the American south.	Doug said he had "no idea" when he learned about the Holocaust. He recalled reading *The Diary of Anne Frank* in seventh grade English and visiting the US Holocaust Memorial and Museum on a field trip in ninth grade.	Doug had not read *Night* but he said he felt he "learned enough about the Holocaust to know what is happening in this part of *Night.*" Doug said he doesn't know "if it really mattered at the end of the day that I didn't read the book before I did the simulation."
Palmer	Palmer described himself as a "white male, 20s, born and	Palmer recalled "learning about the Holocaust most of my life, as far back as I can remember, learning about it in	As a young child, Palmer met the author of *Night* and heard him

	raised in the northeastern United States. Career switcher, came into teaching from a different career. Jewish."	much greater depth than here, at a younger age than this simulation would have been conducted." Palmer was raised in a Jewish community, where he attended an after school Hebrew school.	speak about his experiences that he described in *Night*.
Dora	Dora, 26, identified as "a cisgender white female." Dora "grew up upper middle class" in suburbs outside a large Mid-Atlantic city in the United States. Dora was raised Catholic and does not practice that religion.	Dora explained that she was very interested in religions as a child because she had "Jewish friends growing up. I think there was more of a level of exposure to Jewish identity and heritage than maybe some other people around the country." Dora said she first learned about the Holocaust in her eighth-grade English class. According to Dora, her knowledge of the Holocaust deepened on a trip to Europe in ninth grade and in high school history classes.	Dora read *Night* in her eighth-grade English class.
Britt	Britt described herself as a 24-year-old female who is "white, non-Hispanic," and Christian.	Britt explained that she had "a weird history education," including home-schooling. In her interview, Britt did not recall taking a standard American history or world history class in her K-12 education. Consequently, she said she does not "have any strong memories about Holocaust education really at all until college." In college, Britt completed a study abroad program in Germany that she identified as "the most impactful thing" on her understanding of the Holocaust.	Britt read *Night* in a high school English class. She reflected that she felt the instruction "was pretty devoid of outside historical context." She said she believed the class was "trying to understand it as a work of literature," not as a historical source.

At the time of the practice, the focal participants were completing their student teaching in high school history classrooms. These PSTs did not receive specific preparation on teaching traumatic histories, genocide education, or first-person narratives before this practice opportunity. Consequently, the findings and implications of this work reflect these PSTs' instructional strengths and needs without preparation or training.

Data Sources and Analytic Procedures

I collected data at multiple points to understand PSTs' planned lessons, enacted lessons, and reflections on instruction (Figure 3). Each participant submitted a pre-lesson survey on Qualtrics in which they explained their confidence for teaching this topic, their goals for student learning in this lesson, and their instructional plan for the lesson. These plans indicate participants' initial intent, as participants enacted instruction in a lesson may diverge from their initial plan.

Participants then taught a ten to 15-minute lesson segment to the mixed-reality classroom on Zoom; all lessons were recorded and subsequently transcribed. Immediately following their lesson, participants completed a brief post-simulation survey to capture their immediate reflections. Roughly one month after PSTs' lessons, I conducted hour-long semi-structured interviews with each participant that I recorded on Zoom (Appendix B). In addition to recording and transcribing all interviews, I maintained a chain of evidence by writing reflective memos after each interview (Yin, 2018).

Figure 3

Alignment of Data and Research Questions

Data Source	Relevant Research Question(s)
Pre-lesson survey	1. How do pre-service teachers teach an excerpt of a Holocaust survivor's narrative? 2. How do pre-service teachers describe the supports they believe would help them teach a Holocaust survivor's narrative?
Transcript of lesson	1. How do pre-service teachers teach an excerpt of a Holocaust survivor's narrative?
Post-lesson survey	2. How do pre-service teachers describe the supports they believe would help them teach a Holocaust survivor's narrative?
Interview transcript	2. How do pre-service teachers describe the supports they believe would help them teach a Holocaust survivor's narrative?

I began data analysis by creating a data display table (Miles & Huberman, 2014) to organize the objectives and lesson plans that each participant submitted in their pre-lesson surveys. I used participants' post-lesson surveys to expand the table to include participants'

descriptions of what they taught in their lesson and their reflection on if they reached their objectives. These data tables allowed me to explore participants' perceptions of their instruction, as well as identify instances in which participants' objectives changed from their initial plan. I wrote a brief memo after completing this data display for each participant (Yin, 2018).

I uploaded all lesson and interview transcripts to Dedoose, a data analytic platform that allows researchers to conduct blind double coding. I excerpted teachers' instruction into turns-of-talk (Waring, 2018). I analyzed PSTs' lessons using a deductive codebook aligned with my conceptual framework for traumatic history instruction, including teaching about the historical context in which the text is set, prompting for students' affective responses, and asking questions that emphasize the author's historical agency (Appendix C). A doctoral student who was not affiliated with data collection and I blind double coded 100% of the lesson data, resulting in 94.9% agreement on coding excerpts (Miles & Huberman, 2014).

I developed individual case summaries by incorporating summaries of participants' instruction to their initial data tables, completing a time-series analysis of participants' planned and enacted instruction (Yin, 2018). Finally, I analyzed each participant's interview transcript for evidence of their perception of their lesson and their description of supports they felt would help them teach a text from the Holocaust. I recorded memos throughout this process (Yin, 2018). After I analyzed each case, I conducted a cross-case analysis (Yin, 2018). This allowed me to synthesize patterns across cases for each research question.

Author's Positionality

I am deeply connected to the content of this study. As a Jewish woman whose family is from the same town as the author of *Night*, Nazis murdered many of my family members in Transylvania and in Auschwitz-Birkenau. This is highly personal content for me, and I

acknowledge that my background impacts my perception of the importance of teaching the Holocaust. As Elie Wisel said at the dedication of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, "For the dead and the living, we must bear witness. For not only are we responsible for the memories of the dead, we are also responsible for what we are doing with those memories" (USHMM, n.d., a). As the living descendant of people murdered in the Holocaust, I bear a responsibility to teach in a way that empowers students to bear witness to others' traumatic histories.

Additionally, I bring my experiences as a teacher educator to this work. As a teacher educator, I want to help my students reach their personal goals across a range of instructional approaches. I believe that there is not a "correct" approach from which one can teach first-person narratives from the Holocaust, but that strong instruction adheres to the USHMM (n.d., b) guidelines. Because I taught the participants prior to the simulations, all data was transcribed and blinded by simulation team members so I was not aware of participants' identities when I conducted initial lesson coding. Additionally, all lesson transcripts were blind double coded by a researcher who did not know the participants, increasing the reliability of my data analysis (Yin, 2018).

Findings

Participants each taught a ten-minute lesson using the same excerpt of *Night*. The participants had not read or received specific instruction on the USHMM (n.d., b) guidelines for teaching the Holocaust, principles of traumatic history instruction, or direction on how to teach a first-person narrative. Consequently, these findings can be interpreted as evidence of supports that PSTs may need, not as a judgment of their enacted instruction.

While each teacher taught their lesson in distinct ways based on their goals for the lesson, teachers used some common strategies, including setting expectations for students in the lesson,

asking comprehension questions about the events of the chapter, and explaining some sections of the text. Three teachers taught lessons that centered Wiesel's actions and experiences, as aligned to the USHMM (n.d., b) guidelines for teaching the Holocaust. The fourth teacher, Britt, taught Wiesel's narrative from the perspective of the Nazi oppressors.

In the following sections, I describe how each participant taught this excerpt in relation to the framework for traumatic history instruction. I conclude with the ways in which participants described supports that they said would help them learn how to teach *Night* and Holocaust narratives in the future.

Doug: Explains the Text to Students

Doug wrote that his objective lesson was for students to "understand about the loss of humanity, both from a loss of life perspective in addition to loss of the feeling of being alive, for Jewish people living through the Holocaust." Doug opened his lesson by cautioning his class to be aware of "the sensitive nature of the topic, especially if, not just if you're Jewish, but anybody who experiences any kind of tragedy like the Holocaust." Doug stated that he wanted his students to learn the importance of interacting with Jewish people with respect. After his lesson, Doug said that although he wrote an objective related to humanity broadly, his true objective was for his students to have "the best preparation for when they meet someone Jewish," and that discussing this text would prepare them for that.

Next, Doug asked a series of questions about how Wiesel references food in the text. Doug asked, "What's the first example of food we see in the text?" Doug prompted students to identify examples from the text before explaining what the examples meant. Doug explained the text for nearly two thirds of the total lesson time, occasionally asking comprehension questions. For example, Doug said,

> So we can see that at this point they've been, and so if we remember from the text kind of above it, there's no mentions of food in it. But we can see that the Germans are moving them and there's these plans that they're intimidating the inmates and saying that 'we're going to shoot you guys' and things along this nature. And so they're kind of being moved around but there is one point where they say, 'from that moment on, there's no further distribution of bread and soup began'. Yep. So that's okay that we didn't see that but it's important to know that even in the days past, all the main character can think about is food and now the Germans have stopped giving them food and so they're kind of moving towards this final part of it, where maybe almost the Germans don't even care about their survival anymore. And so this is weighing on the main character. So what happens next in the text?

Although Doug spoke for most of his lesson, he incorporated other skills central to analyzing a historical text. Doug prompted students to rephrase and summarize specific lines from the text to ensure they understood the meaning. Additionally, Doug addressed the historical context outside of the events mentioned in the text, including telling students that "the Germans at this point are about to lose the war." Doug closed his lesson by explaining how Nazis' persecution of Jews in the Holocaust is "really hard to think about and hard to know," but Doug ran out of time during this explanation and did not complete his lesson. In his interview, Doug reflected that he ran out of time because he spent more time explaining the text than he had planned.

Palmer: Asks Students to Summarize and Analyze Author's Attitude

Palmer wrote a multi-part lesson objective:

> (1) Students will understand that every major historical event is about people, both groups and individuals. Seeing an individual perspective of this event is essential to understanding its tragedy.
> (2) Teach students the importance of memory and reflection. We are lucky to have detailed and vulnerable accounts like Wiesel's. We must always seek to preserve, protect, and learn from these experiences for everyone's betterment.

Palmer explained after his lesson that these goals were important to him because he sees a resurgence of neo-Nazism. Palmer hoped that if students reached his objectives, they could "see everybody else in this country as a human being and not anything else." If students do not reach

these objectives, Palmer cautioned that the Holocaust "can happen again" because "we see Nazi flags and neo-Nazi white supremacy all the time now." Palmer's interview responses revealed that he saw teaching *Night* is a means of preparing students to "keep an eye out for … propaganda, dehumanization, nationalism, othering," and other dangerous practices that lead to genocide.

Palmer opened his lesson by establishing a norm that "it's okay to be uncomfortable talking about this kind of thing" and that students should provide text evidence with specific page numbers "so we are all on the same page, both literally and figuratively." After these norms, Palmer asked a student to summarize "where our author Elie Wiesel starts off this chapter" and "what has happened to him and his family at this point." Palmer then recounted the summary and asked, "What is Wiesel's attitude towards all of this? Is there anything in the text that indicates how he's feeling about all this, his attitude?" Palmer and his class read sections of the text aloud then discuss the significance of the term "survival."

Palmer closed his lesson similarly to how he opened it, asking students to summarize "the very ending. What happens?" After students let Palmer know that time is almost up, Palmer said, "this is what we'll pick up the next class. We're going pick up with why Wiesel chose to end his story like this. After he's freed and liberated, why does it end up such a somber tone?" Palmer charged students to continue thinking about this text "as you leave today, think about why we look at this one story to help learn about this massive historical event." Palmer reflected after his lesson that he wished he spent less time summarizing the text and more time discussing why Wiesel's memory and perspective should be studied today.

Dora: Connects the Text to Students' Lives

Dora wrote that her goal was "to teach students about the Holocaust and Jewish oppression from a social justice perspective that acknowledges both human suffering and the institutional mechanisms/individual compliance that caused human suffering." Dora explained after her lesson that she doesn't "see a point in just teaching them to write facts about wars. To me, that's not the point. The point is to understand it's a *social* study. Let's study how we interact with each other and let's use that information to inform how we move forward in our lives." Her goal for teaching *Night*, therefore, was for students to "use this to be a better person to other people."

Dora opened her lesson by acknowledging "that this is a topic that can be really upsetting to some students." Dora then offered solutions to her students that she had used as a student: "If you find yourself feeling a little overwhelmed, please feel free to put your head down on your desk or to step out into the hallway for a second or to go see a guidance counselor." After this opening, Dora asked students for evidence of specific imagery from the text, including "some of the things that Elie heard at the Buchenwald concentration camp" and "what did he say when he looked at himself in the mirror?" Additionally, Dora asked students comprehension questions about the meanings of specific words in the text, including "roll call" and "liquidate."

After students summarized the graphic events of the chapter, Dora explained how the events mentioned in the text connect to the Holocaust: "he was physically starved but then also terrorized. He just lost his father. There's a lot of trauma that goes into that. All of these things—the gunshots, the terror, starvation and grief—were experienced by people in Nazi concentration camps." Dora provided additional historical context that "there was actually 44,000 such camps and 6 million people were murdered by Nazis in those camps." This context

was not explicitly mentioned in the text; Dora stated in her interview that she relied on resources like USHMM for historical context.

In addition to connecting the text to the context of the Holocaust, Dora said, “sometimes when we consider such violence and tragedy, it's really scary for us. A really good question to ask about that is, how could this happen? Have any of you thought about that? How could this have happened?” Dora then provided her students with a brief history of antisemitic beliefs dating back to 600 BC. Through these questions, Dora prompted students to discuss what they should do if they hear antisemitic remarks today and emphasized the long history of antisemitism.

Britt: Asks about Nazis’ Experiences

Britt stated in her interview that her instructional goal shifted from what she had initially outlined in her lesson plan. Before her lesson, Britt wrote that her goal was for “students to work on contextualizing a historical source and interpreting the main idea of the source.” After her lesson, Britt said, “The most basic thing I wanted us to have understood was what was happening in the text” and, secondly, “why were the Nazis unsuccessful at accomplishing their goals?” These goals are not entirely distinct, as Britt said she felt that the main idea of this excerpt of *Night* is the Nazis’ failure to reach their goals.

Like the other teachers, Britt opened her lesson by setting expectations. Britt said that the Holocaust “can be a tricky topic for some of you” and that students can see her “if you ever need to process or talk through it.” Britt then stated that students should “support your answer with details from the text” and that students cannot “bring in any outside sources. Let’s just stick with *Night* as our text for today, but bringing in your personal experience or opinion is totally fine.”

After Britt asked students to discuss whether *Night* was fiction or nonfiction, Britt said, “Let's talk a little bit more about what's going on in this chapter. Can someone tell me what are the SS officers in the chapter trying to do?” Britt asked a series of questions in which she used the abbreviation SS, referring to Nazi officers in the Schutzsaffel, including what they were “planning to do" and “what are they going to do to the camp itself?” When students correctly identified that the Nazis intended to destroy evidence of the camp they operated, Britt asked, “Why would the SS officers want to destroy the camp?" Britt used a metaphor to explain the Nazis’ intent: “Imagine if one of you had done something wrong. Maybe you had taken some cookies from the kitchen when you weren't supposed to. Would you want to leave crumbs on the counter after you've taken those cookies? … No, because you've done something wrong. This is way different, right? Because the SS guards aren't just taking cookies. Same idea applies, right?” By comparing the Holocaust to stealing cookies and Nazis’ attempted destruction of concentration camps to hiding crumbs, Britt centered the Nazis’ perspective.

In the remainder of the lesson, Britt continued to teach about Nazis’ perspective and experiences, exclusively asking questions about the SS officers’ goals and actions. When a student told Britt that they were almost out of time, Britt replied, “I would love to have more time to discuss this with you all and get to the role of the Americans and all of it. They show up at the end. But I really appreciate everyone's ideas for sharing.” Britt did not mention Jewish people in her lesson, and she closed her lesson indicating that she intended to discuss historical context outside of the text rather than Weisel’s perspective and experiences.

Summary

Across the cases, PSTs utilized some similar instructional strategies to teach *Night*. For example, all teachers opened their lesson with an acknowledgement that students may feel

uncomfortable or upset when discussing *Night*, indicating PSTs acknowledged the importance of affect in traumatic history instruction. Additionally, all teachers asked questions that prompted students to explain their comprehension of the text.

Another similarity between cases is that these PSTs did not ask questions about historical sourcing, including who wrote the text, when and where it was written, and the author's intent for recording their narrative. This may be an opportunity for supporting PST learning, as research suggests that analyzing sourcing is an important component of historical source analysis (e.g., Wineburg, 1991) and that it is especially important when analyzing sources from traumatic histories (e.g., Totten & Feinberg, 1991). Because participants did not receive specific preparation for traumatic history instruction before teaching these lessons, this finding can be interpreted as an indication that PSTs may benefit from preparation that specifically connects the skill of sourcing with traumatic history instruction.

Despite these similarities, PSTs taught this text from two distinct perspectives. Doug, Palmer, and Dora asked students to analyze Wiesel's experiences and perspective. Britt asked students to analyze the Nazis' experiences and perspective. Although *Night* is a first-person narrative written by a Jewish man about his experiences being traumatically oppressed by Nazis, Britt taught in a manner that privileged the historical agency of the oppressors because she exclusively asked questions about the Nazis' actions and goals. Britt's instruction indicates that teaching a first-person narrative from the Holocaust does not necessarily indicate that teachers teach the narratives in a way that aligns with the framework for traumatic history instruction.

Desired Preparation and Supports

Even though participants taught *Night* from distinct perspectives, all PSTs reported feeling more confident teaching *Night* after their practice lessons. Each participant reported their

confidence on a 5-point scale immediately before and after their lessons: Doug said his confidence improved from a 3 to a 4, Dora reported improving from a 3 to a 4, and Britt reported her confidence improved from a 2.5 to a 3.5. Palmer said he was frustrated that he ran out of time, so his confidence changed from a 3.5 to a "3.5 or a 4," not fully committing to improvement. Despite these improvements, each participant identified additional support that would help them learn how to teach a Holocaust survivor's narrative.

Given that participants had not received explicit instruction in how to teach *Night* or first-person narratives from traumatic histories, data collection included asking participants in their surveys and interviews what specific, additional preparation and support they might need to teach this text and this topic in the future. In what follows, I describe three categories of guidance, preparation, and support that participants said would help them learn to teach *Night*, the Holocaust, and, more broadly, texts from traumatic histories.

Models and Feedback

All PSTs in this study reported feeling unsure of what "good" instruction looked like when teaching *Night* or another first-person narrative from a traumatic history. Teachers were aware of resources from USHMM, but wanted opportunities to practice teaching, models of high-quality instruction, and feedback about their enacted lessons.

Only Britt had the opportunity to teach the Holocaust in her student teaching placement. Britt said in her interview that when she was preparing for that lesson, "I found myself looking for resources more than I did with other topics." Britt said that online resources provided her useful ideas when she was planning, but she was unsure of what those resources would look like in enacted instruction.

The other PSTs in this study had not had opportunities to teach about the Holocaust or a traumatic history before completing this practice lesson. Palmer reflected in his interview that had planned a unit about the Holocaust, but "I didn't get to teach this in my [student teaching] and only have been able to do it in this simulation. I can only speculate or talk or what I'd like to do, ideally. I don't know *how* actually." Doug similarly contrasted planning with actually enacting a lesson. In his interview, he stated, "I don't learn anything until, nothing applies until I do it. The simulator was actually really helpful for that." Dora believed that she does learn from lesson planning and that practice lesson planning about a Holocaust survivor's narrative is essential, but Dora said that planning should be followed by an opportunity to "practice delivering in the moment and see what happens when you're kind of forced to implement that."

In addition to wanting opportunities to practice teaching, participants said they could learn how to teach if they had exemplar lessons on teaching first-person narratives from the Holocaust, including in-person observations and videos of others teaching this topic. In her interview, Britt requested opportunities to watch "how five different teachers taught this in their class" because "watching actual teachers do it" could provide her with a stronger mental model of high-quality traumatic history instruction. Palmer similarly explained that he wanted to "see more people teach, see how other people do things, see what they use, see how they turn it into material, see how they respond to the students." Palmer explained that he wanted to see model lessons from a variety of teachers: "I'd love to see how other people do it. Even if it's something that I decide I don't like, maybe just to help me clarify what I do like." In other words, Palmer wanted models that included exemplar lessons and lessons that may not be exemplars, as he could then clarify what he wanted to teach. Dora explained that "looking at exemplars" of other teachers' lesson plans and instruction would help her plan a lesson, as she did not have a mental

model of exemplary instruction. Additionally, Dora said that "instructional coaching would be helpful for me beforehand," as she could discuss her lesson plans and receive feedback from an expert coach before she taught. Future research can examine the ways in which novice teachers' planned and enacted instruction using a text from a traumatic history shift after they access models and receive instructional coaching.

Appropriateness of Instruction

All participants said they felt unsure of whether their lessons were too graphic or too simplified for a given class. Britt, Palmer, and Dora said in their interviews that they wanted guidance on what Britt referred to as whether content was "developmentally appropriate." Britt explained in her interview that "it would be really helpful to dive into that a little bit more with pre-service teachers, because we have all kinds of ideas about it." Dora said in her interview that she was concerned that she would realize mid-lesson "I did not play it for the right age." Dora explained that this concern is one reason why she wanted instructional coaching while planning lessons.

In addition to concerns about age-appropriateness, Dora and Doug wanted guidance on how to be sensitive to the needs of Jewish students who may have personal connections to the Holocaust. Dora wrote in her post-lesson survey that she was unsure when to teach "certain images, texts, or sources that show the violence and horror of the Holocaust without triggering students (esp Jewish students)." Doug wrote in his post-lesson survey that he wanted to learn "how to approach the teaching of it with Jewish students in the class and being aware of their lived experiences." The written comments of these teachers indicated that they were aware that traumatic histories can be particularly traumatic for the students with family connections to the history but were not sure of how to support students.

Two participants said they wanted to learn how to teach the Holocaust without "alienating" students with antisemitic beliefs. Doug wrote in his post-lesson survey that he was concerned about "the possibility of Holocaust deniers and their impact in the classroom." In his interview, Doug stated that he does not want to "alienate" any students: "I don't want to impact their future in a way that it's like, 'oh, society hates us.'" In her interview, Britt reflected that she taught a student who she described as "very antisemitic. Thinking about teaching the Holocaust in that context of a student who has a lot of negative feelings towards Jews, how do I kind of engage him in this conversation about what happened during the Holocaust but it's not something that he thinks is important or that he wants to know about?" She explained that she wanted to learn "how do we teach students to talk about these things? And if we're just kind of punishing them or excluding them when they say something that they're not supposed to, are we really teaching them how to do better?" In her interview, Britt said that she "read a paper about what hard history was" in her teacher education program, "but didn't talk about when you are actually teaching something that you find emotionally challenging or that students might respond to in ways that are challenging." Consequently, Britt requested "in-depth planning and reflection" on teaching the Holocaust and other traumatic histories as well as "role-playing or scenario setting" to practice addressing what Britt referred to as "out-there hateful comments." These teachers were grappling with how to create a learning environment in which all students could participate in a lesson about a Holocaust survivor's narrative and wanted guidance on how to reach antisemitic students who might be Holocaust deniers.

Discussion and Implications

This descriptive study provides insight into how four PSTs taught an excerpt from a Holocaust survivor's narrative without specific preparation or support. Most research of

teachers' use of narratives examines the practices of veteran teachers who have received specialized training or resources; this work provides insight into how PSTs who had not experienced specific preparation on how to teach first-person narratives from the Holocaust teach a practice lesson.

In this study, participants utilized instructional skills for historical source analysis with mixed success. For example, all participants asked comprehension questions about the events of the text. Three participants referenced the historical context of the text, including broader events of the war and the long history of antisemitism. This indicates that these teachers were prepared to teach a traumatic history in an un-traumatic manner. Additional research can examine how PSTs in varied contexts teach diverse narratives from traumatic histories; this research may reveal potential patterns or challenges that contribute to teachers' un-troubling of traumatic history.

Despite participants demonstrating some instructional skills related to historical source analysis, no participant asked questions about the sourcing of the text, such as who wrote it or the context of its publication. This is important because analyzing who wrote the text in what context can help readers realize that they are reading the perspective of a person who survived the Holocaust and analyze why the author recorded their narrative (Totten & Feinberg, 2016). Teachers in this study may have not asked students to analyze sourcing due to the text selection, however, as teachers utilized the final chapter of the text and may have presumed that the class would have previously discussed that information. Further research can examine how–or if–novice teachers ask students to source the text, as this skill is central to analyzing historical sources (Wineburg, 1991) and imperative to helping students learn about and from the

experiences of Holocaust victims that Nazis attempted to erase (Totten & Feinberg, 2016; USHMM, n.d., b)

Although all four participants asked comprehension questions about the text, only three of the four participants utilized practices specific to teaching a source from the Holocaust, a traumatic history. Doug, Palmer, and Dora asked students questions that focused on Wiesel's experiences, actions, and perspective, effectively centering his historical agency as the perspective from which students should learn. Doug and Palmer ran out of time before they could reach their lesson objectives, but they each planned a lesson that aligned with the best practices for traumatic history instruction. Consequently, their planned and enacted instruction reflected the principles of traumatic history instruction, but they struggled with the more general pedagogical skill of time management. Dora's lesson most closely aligned to the framework for traumatic history instruction because she prompted students to discuss their contemporary obligation to confront antisemitism today.

In contrast, Britt taught *Night* in a manner that did not reflect best practices for traumatic history instruction. Britt's comments that compared Nazis' genocidal actions to stealing cookies trivialized the brutality of the Holocaust. Although Britt did not intend for her lesson to harm students, the way she enacted her lesson could have promoted dangerous misconceptions. Although Britt said she spent considerable effort in reading resources on the USHMM website, Britt may have benefited from learning about the Holocaust education in a manner that aligned with the framework for traumatic history instruction, as her lesson that emphasized the agency, actions, and experiences of the Nazis. Future research can explore the ways in which specific support, including exemplar models and instructional coaching, can develop teachers' enactment of lessons that emphasize the historical agency of the oppressed rather than the oppressors.

While participants' instruction varied, all participants said that they wanted models of exemplary teachers teaching first-person narratives from the Holocaust education and opportunities to practice teaching. Structured practice opportunities, like MRS or role-plays, can provide a space for PSTs to practice teaching in a low-stakes environment (Grossman, 2011). Teacher educators can use the findings of this study to build on the growing field of research into PSTs' Holocaust instruction by creating opportunities for PSTs to practice teaching in a mock-teaching environment. Further research can explore how deliberate practice can improve PSTs' discourse about emotion in enacted instruction. Opportunities to practice enacting Holocaust instruction and implement instructional coaching may prepare PSTs to approach—and not avoid—the emotions necessary for students to build difficult knowledge.

Additionally, this format may serve as a platform for candidates to receive coaching aligned with the framework for traumatic history instruction, as Dora requested. Previous research has explored ways to prepare PSTs with the knowledge for teaching the Holocaust (e.g., Nowell & Poindexter, 2019); PSTs' increased confidence after completing this practice indicates that PSTs may benefit from opportunities to practice teaching, not only practice planning. Teacher educators can incorporate opportunities for multi-layered preparation of planning a lesson using a Holocaust survivor's narrative, practice teaching their lesson, and responding to feedback from an expert coach. Further research may examine how instructional coaching can support teacher learning at various phases, including during lesson planning, following enacted instruction, and in conjunction with candidate self-reflection.

The potential and purpose of Holocaust education and engaging with survivors' narratives is to decrease antisemitism (e.g., Simon, 2005), In this study, one participant, Dora, explicitly taught her students to confront antisemitism. The three other teachers did not connect

Night to students' obligation to confront antisemitism and discrimination today. Two in particular, Doug and Britt, were concerned about how to teach the Holocaust to students with antisemitic beliefs. This highlights the complexity involved in preparing to teach about the Holocaust. And, although USHMM has resources for teachers about what antisemitism is, Doug and Britt felt unsure of how to–or if they should–confront students who make antisemitic statements in class. In interviews, Doug and Britt stated that they were aware that antisemitism is a problem (Donnelly, 2006; Totten & Feinberg, 2016), but both were unsure of how to deal with a student who makes an antisemitic comment. This highlights not only the importance of offering PSTs opportunities to practice teaching first-person narratives in a low-stakes practice setting in which they receive coaching, but also that PSTs may benefit from explicit instruction in and opportunities to practice how to address discriminatory and antisemitic comments in the same context. If PSTs receive opportunities to practice enacting these skills with feedback before they teach real students, they may be empowered to confront antisemitic remarks in their real classrooms and teach students to learn from the narratives written by people who experienced oppression; this is clearly an area for future study.

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Appendix A: Pre-reading selection of *Night.* Chapter 9, pages 104-115.

I remained in Buchenwald until April 11. I shall not describe my life during that period. It no longer mattered. Since my father's death, nothing mattered to me anymore.
I was transferred to the children's block, where there were six hundred of us.
The Front was coming closer.
I spent my days in total idleness. With only one desire: to eat. I no longer thought of my father, or my mother.
From time to time, I would dream. But only about soup, an extra ration of soup.

ON APRIL 5, the wheel of history turned.

It was late afternoon. We were standing inside the block, waiting for an SS to come and count us. He was late. Such lateness was unprecedented in the history of Buchenwald. Something must have happened.

Two hours later, the loudspeakers transmitted an order from the camp Kommandant: all Jews were to gather in the *Appelplatz*.

This was the end! Hitler was about to keep his promise.

The children of our block did as ordered. There was no choice: Gustav, the *Blockälteste*, made it clear with his club…But on our way we met some prisoners who whispered to us:

"Go back to your block. The Germans plan to shoot you. Go back and don't move."

We returned to the block. On our way there, we learned that the underground resistance of the camp had made the decision not to abandon the Jews and to prevent their liquidation.
As it was getting late and the confusion was great—countless Jews had been passing as non-Jews—the *Lagerälteste* had decided that a general roll call would take place the next day. Everybody would have to be present.
The roll call took place. The *Lagerkommandant* announced that the Buchenwald camp would be liquidated. 10 blocks of inmates would be evacuated every day. From that moment on, there was no further distribution of bread and soup. And the evacuation began. Every day, a few thousand inmates past the camp's gate and did not return.

ON APRIL 10, there were still some twenty thousand prisoners in the camp, among them a few hundred children. It was decided to evacuate all of us at once. By evening. Afterward, they would blow up the camp.

And so we were herded onto the huge *Appelplatz*, in ranks of five, waiting for the gate to open. Suddenly, the sirens began to scream. Alert. We went back to the blocks. It was too late to evacuate us that evening. The evacuation was postponed to the next day.

Hunger was tormenting us; we had not eaten for nearly six days except for a few stalks of grass and some potato peels found on the grounds of the kitchens.

At ten o'clock in the morning, the SS took positions throughout the camp and began to herd the last of us toward the *Appelplatz*.

The resistance movement decided at that point to act. Armed men appeared from everywhere. Bursts of gunshots. Grenades exploding. We, the children, remained flat on the floor of the block.
The battle did not last long. Around noon, everything was calm again. The SS had fled and the resistance had taken charge of the camp.
At 6:00 o'clock that afternoon, the first American tank stood at the gates of Buchenwald.

OUR FIRST ACT AS FREE MEN was to throw ourselves onto the provisions. That's all we thought about. No thought of revenge, or of parents. Only of bread.

And even when we were no longer hungry, not one of us thought of revenge. The next day, a few of the young men ran into Weimar to bring back some potatoes and clothes—and to sleep with girls. But still no trace of revenge.

Three days after the liberation of Buchenwald, I became very ill: some form of poisoning. I was transferred to a hospital and spent two weeks between life and death.

One day when I was able to get up, I decided to look at myself in the mirror on the opposite wall. I had not seen myself since the ghetto.

From the depths of the mirror, a corpse was contemplating me.

The look in his eyes as he gazed at me has never left me.

Appendix B: Semi-Structured Interview Protocol

Questions included the following in addition to follow-up questions:

- Please describe your demographics.
- Please describe your personal Holocaust education experiences.
- Had you read *Night* before this simulation? How do you think that affected your experience?
- How would you describe your goal for Holocaust education?
- What goals did you have for this lesson?
    - How did you plan to reach those goals?
    - Do you feel like you reached your goals? What impacted this?
- There are a few approaches people commonly take when teaching about the Holocaust. Some people prefer to include as many facts as possible, some prefer to focus on ethical and moral themes that can be applied to contemporary issues, some teach it as they would any historical event, and some teach it through a religious lens. Which of these best matches you? Why?
- If I were to observe you teaching the Holocaust in your placement, what would I see?
    - Is that similar to or different from your experience in the simulator? Why?
- What supports or preparation would you like to learn how to teach *Night* or other narratives from the Holocaust?
    - Probe for preferences on specifics, including lesson planning, a specific history course or unit, simulations or other practice, professional learning communities, small group discussions, instructional coaching

Appendix C: Codebook for Components of Traumatic History Instruction

	Definition	**Example**
Expectations & Norms	Specific expectations for student behavior and participation during the lesson. Does not include introductions or "how was your day."	"The norm in class today is that all those emotions are totally okay. They're acceptable. Whatever you're feeling is fine. I want you to just kind of stop if you're feeling overwhelmed." "We understand that we must take the suffering of others seriously. So we're very respectful. And we're not making any jokes about the slave trade. Do you understand?"
Text Analysis (TA)	Parent code co-applied to child codes about analyzing the body of the text.	*Automatically co-applied as parent code for one of the four child codes. Not applied without a child code.*
TA: Affect	Parent code co-applied to child codes about affect.	*Automatically co-applied as parent code for one of the four child codes. Not applied without a child code.*
TA: Affect: Author	The author's emotional state and the author's intent to elicit emotions in the historical context in which the text was written.	"Can anybody tell me what is one word that he uses to describe his feelings when he sees the cargo ship?"
TA: Affect: Present	Students' emotional response or reaction to reading this text.	"So first of all, how did this text make you guys feel? What emotions did you have while you were reading it?"
TA: Affect: Hypothetical	How students would emotionally respond or react if they were hypothetically in the context of the text.	"If you see someone try to jump to their death but then they're caught, brought back and beaten up, punished for jumping. What's going through your head?"
TA: Comprehension	Comprehension of the events of the text, quotations, and vocabulary terms. A teacher explanation followed by "does that make sense?" is *not* comprehension.	"It says, 'But now that the whole ship's cargo were confined together, it became absolutely pestilential.' Does anybody know the definition of 'pestilential'?"
TA: Descriptive	The sensory experience on the ship, including the sights, smells, and sounds the author describes.	"We're talking here about like what he's seeing. What are some other senses that he's experiencing? Maybe things that he is smelling or touching. What other sensory experiences is he having?
TA: Sourcing	Analysis of the creator of the source, intended audience, and setting of when and where text was written.	"So if you guys look at the dedication with me, which is in lines one to 26, let's take a look. Well, first of all. Who was he writing this to? Who is his audience here?" "When and where was it written?"

TA: Inferences	Inferences, predictions, or hypotheses of what historical figures may have thought, felt, or done. Questions cannot be answered using text evidence alone.	"Are people going to immediately believe Equiano's tale or story in this narrative?" "How does that psychological experience—how do you think that would impact him?"
Historical Context	Events, beliefs, and society happening at the same time as the events in the text or the creation of the text that are not explained in the text itself.	"A really quick review of the transatlantic slave trade from the 1550's to the 1860's. We have sugar, rice, and tobacco moving from the Americas to Europe. We have manufactured goods moving from Europe back to the Americas. But most importantly, we have slaves moving on slave ships from Africa to the Americas." "What's interesting about this is that it implies if he wants abolition, is this still happening when he's writing his account?"
Teacher Explanation *Do NOT co-apply with text analysis *Do NOT use for an answer to a student's explicit question	Teacher explains an idea for two or more sentences without a question. This can include a teacher elaborating on or explaining a student's answer. Reading a selection of text aloud does not count towards the explanation length.	"So he had never seen among his own people this type of brutal cruelty. Never seen this type of dehumanization before. Everyone always treated each other with least some respect. You know, maybe it wasn't a perfect life before, but nobody had ever been so flagrantly deprived of their humanity like they had seen in this exact moment"

- All codes are applied to teachers' discourse, not to students' discourse.
- Codes can be co-applied, except "teacher explanation" and "text analysis."
- Feedback on students' responses, such as "I think that's an amazing word to describe the treatment" should not be coded.
- Procedural directions, such as "you can put your pencil down" should not be coded.
- Repeating a question to solicit an answer from a different student, such as "does anybody want to give us another example?" should not be coded.
- Perfunctory questions such as "right," "any other thoughts," and "does that make sense?" should not be coded. Any preceding stanza can be coded as "teacher explanation".

Coaching Novice Teachers to Teach Olaudah Equiano's *Narrative*

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Abstract

This multiple case study examines the ways in which seven novice social studies teachers planned and taught a lesson about an excerpt of *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*, a first-person narrative about the author's kidnapping and enslavement, before and after they received instructional coaching. In this paper, I detail the design of an instructional coaching model that operationalizes three central practices of teaching students to analyze first-person narratives (e.g., Bickford & Clabough, 2020; Simon, 2005; Wineburg,1991): sourcing, analyzing the author's agency, and analyzing the author's use of descriptive language. Before coaching, all participants asked comprehension questions about the text; after coaching, all participants incorporated questions that support historical source analysis. The findings of this study provide promising evidence that social studies teachers can improve how they teach a first-person narrative after they receive instructional coaching.

Coaching Novice Teachers to Teach Olaudah Equiano's *Narrative*

> Permit me, with the greatest deference and respect, to lay at your feet the following genuine Narrative; the chief design of which is to excite in your august assemblies a sense of compassion for the miseries which the Slave-Trade has entailed on my unfortunate countrymen. … May the God of heaven inspire your hearts with peculiar benevolence on that important day when the question of Abolition is to be discussed.

-Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself*, 1789

In his narrative, Equiano (1789) described his brutal kidnapping and enslavement to persuade the British Parliament to abolish the slave trade. The slave trade is a traumatic history, which Simon and colleagues (2000) define as those of "human suffering through practices of genocide, enslavement, population displacement, and organized terror" (p. 1). First-person narratives like Equiano's are an important historical source to learn about traumatic histories in which perpetrators attempted to erase the physical existence and memories of people (Haswell, 2005; Straus, 2016). Without first-person narratives from traumatic histories, the events are simplified to dehumanized numerical counts of victims (Totten & Feinberg, 2016). Teachers can use first-person narratives to help students personalize otherwise abstract traumatic histories.

Although teachers commonly report using first-person narratives (Donnelly, 2006), there is sparse research on how teachers teach them. Furthermore, there is no evidence of how teachers *learn* to teach students to analyze these essential historical sources. If analyzing historical sources is an unnatural act, as Wineburg (2001) argues, then teaching students to analyze first-person narratives may be exponentially unnatural. Because novice teachers struggle to recognize minoritized perspectives on history without specific training (Salinas & Blevins, 2014), teachers may inadvertently teach first-person narratives in a way that privileges the

oppressors and minimizes the authors' actions, also known as their historical agency (Barton, 2012). Students may develop misconceptions about significant topics in history if their teachers are not prepared.

Teachers do not have to learn by making such mistakes while teaching. Teachers deserve preparation and feedback that supports them in teaching first-person narratives. Instructional coaching can help teachers learn a range of instructional practices (e.g., Kraft et al., 2018; Reisman & Jay, 2024). Unfortunately, secondary social studies teachers seldom receive instructional coaching (e.g., van Hover & Hicks, 2017). Given the crucial importance of students learning to analyze first-person narratives in a way that emphasizes and personalizes the authors' historical agency, there is an urgent need for research that establishes a model for coaching teachers to use first-person narratives as historical sources.

In this paper, I describe a model for instructional coaching social studies teachers to apply principles of traumatic history instruction to first-person narratives. I analyze the degree to which and ways in which instructional coaching supports teachers' instruction of a first-person narrative from a traumatic history. Because novice teachers benefit from opportunities to receive instructional coaching in a practice setting rather than exclusively learning "on-the-job" (Cohen et al., 2020), I study how teachers' instruction before and after coaching in a practice setting.

The findings of this research can inform teacher educators' use of similar practice opportunities with coaching to support candidate learning before they teach real students. Additionally, this work provides the first model for coaching teachers to teach historical source analysis—a model that instructional leaders can utilize to support in-service teacher learning. I answer two research questions:

1. How did novice teachers teach an excerpt of a first-person narrative?

2. What coaching did they receive and how did they respond?

Literature Review

First-Person Narratives

Perpetrators of genocide and oppression commonly attempt to erase the physical existence, records, and memory of group(s) of people (Straus, 2016). As a result, histories of trauma and genocide are often simplified to dehumanized numerical counts of victims (Totten & Feinberg, 2016). In some circumstances, such as the Transatlantic Slave Trade, the precise number of victims of kidnapping, enslavement, and murder is unknown and unknowable (United Nations, n.d.).

Traumatic histories are not only histories of loss; they are histories of resistance. Totten and others suggest that teachers can tell the stories of individuals who experienced traumatic histories to help their students understand the human toll of events (Bernard-Donals & Glezjer, 2001; Totten, 2019). People from oppressed groups often recorded their narratives to affirm their humanity and resist oppression (Lamore, 2012; Simon et al., 2000). Narratives recorded by members of the oppressed group(s) are, therefore, resistance to the oppression they experienced. I adopt Simon's (2005) argument that teachers contribute to this resistance when they learn about and from these narratives then teach their students to do the same.

In this work, I use the term "first-person narratives" to refer to historical sources that may be called counternarratives, testimonies, autobiographies, or memoirs in other contexts (Haswell, 2005). Authors from historically marginalized backgrounds who record their first-person narrative from a traumatic history often do so to challenge dominant stories of oppression and dehumanization (e.g., Delgado, 1989; Dinani, 2021; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Pedagogical theorists and education researchers have called for teachers to use first-person narratives when

teaching traumatic histories (Britzman, 1998; Berents, 2019; Dinani, 2021; Simon et al., 2000; Simon, 2005), as these perspectives challenge oppressors' efforts to silence their victims. In other words, readers of first-person narratives can learn from the experiences and perspectives of historically marginalized authors rather than the experiences and perspectives of their oppressors.

Teaching Historical Source Analysis

First-person narratives are a type of historical source that readers can analyze to understand broader concepts in history, such as individuals' perspectives and the significance of individuals' actions (NCSS, 2013). Research calls for teachers to ask questions that teach and guide students to analyze historical sources, including sourcing who recorded the source in what context (Grant, 2018; Wineburg, 1991), analyzing the author's perspective (VanSledright & Afflerbach, 2005), and the credibility of the source (Reisman & McGrew, 2018).

Because the best practices of analyzing historical sources seem "unnatural" to readers who are not trained historians (Wineburg, 2001), teachers play an integral role in ensuring students learn how to analyze historical sources (e.g., Marczyk et al., 2022; Monte-Sano, 2011). This work may be additionally unnatural, as teachers face many obstacles to teaching historical source analysis, including their knowledge, beliefs, and previous teaching experience (e.g., Monte-Sano & Cochran, 2009; Reisman & Fogo, 2016). Research suggests that novice teachers may benefit from preparation to learn how to analyze historical sources and how to teach others to analyze historical sources (e.g., Reisman & Jay, 2024), although the research of social studies teachers' learning and preparation has been characterized as "particularistic" rather than systematic (Adler, 2008; van Hover & Hicks, 2017). As a result, most of the evidence on how teachers learn to teach historical source analysis is limited to a small number of teachers with specific training that may not be widely available to most teachers.

The literature on first-person narratives suggest that it teaching them is more challenging and less common than teaching students to analyze other types of sources, as teachers may be unaware of historically marginalized perspectives recorded by authors from diverse ethnic groups (Salinas & Blevins, 2014), may emphasize a happy ending (Garrett, 2017), and may resist teaching them entirely (Zembylas, 2017), but there is little empirical evidence of teachers' instruction. This is not to say that all teachers teach these histories poorly–some research highlights exemplary practices of how teachers teach students to analyze first-person narratives from traumatic histories (e.g., Gross & Terra, 2019; Harris et al., 2022; Stoddard et al. 2017), but this research primarily reflects the practices of veteran teachers. Consequently, we have a deep understanding of the outstanding practices of teachers who previously received specific professional development (e.g., Haas, 2020) or taught from researcher-created curricular resources (e.g., Conner & Graham, 2023; Harris et al., 2019). We know little of how—or if—teachers without access to these specialized resources learn to teach students to analyze first-person narratives from traumatic histories.

Teachers face many challenges when teaching historical source analysis, more challenges when teaching first-person narratives from traumatic histories, and still more challenges when they are novice teachers. One way that teachers can learn to implement specific practices and develop productive dispositions is through instructional coaching, which refers to a coach observing a teacher's instruction and providing goal-oriented feedback (e.g., Kraft et al., 2018).

Supporting Teachers through Instructional Coaching

Instructional coaching can take many forms, including directive coaching where a coach states a specific goal and specific steps for improvement (Deussen, et al., 2007) and responsive coaching where a coach solicits a teacher's reflections (Ippolito, 2010). Research suggests that

coaching conversations that combine elements of reflective coaching conversations with coach-directed guidance can be particularly helpful for novice teachers' development who may struggle to learn from self-reflection alone (Gibbons & Cobb, 2017; Ippolito, 2010).

Research suggests that teachers may see the most benefits from instructional coaching when the coaching focuses on the best practices within specific content areas (Desimone, 2009; Desimone & Pak, 2017; Gibbons & Cobb, 2017). Researchers developed coaching models to support teacher learning in math, reading, and science (Kraft et al., 2018). Despite repeated calls for more systematic research on how social studies teachers learn to teach through coaching and other supports (Adler, 1991; Crocco & Livingston, 2018; van Hover & Hicks, 2017), the field lacks research on how social studies teachers' instruction shifts after they receive instructional coaching.

The tide of coaching for social studies may be shifting, however, as teacher educators and researchers are increasingly researching how to support teachers' implementation of the best practices in historical source analysis. For example, Reisman and Beckwith (2023) found that coaches could support teachers' teaching about historical sources when coaches had a structured protocol for their feedback. In a subsequent study, Reisman and Jay (2024) found that teachers' facilitation of discussions about historical sources improves when they receive coaching focused on strategies to elicit students' thinking.

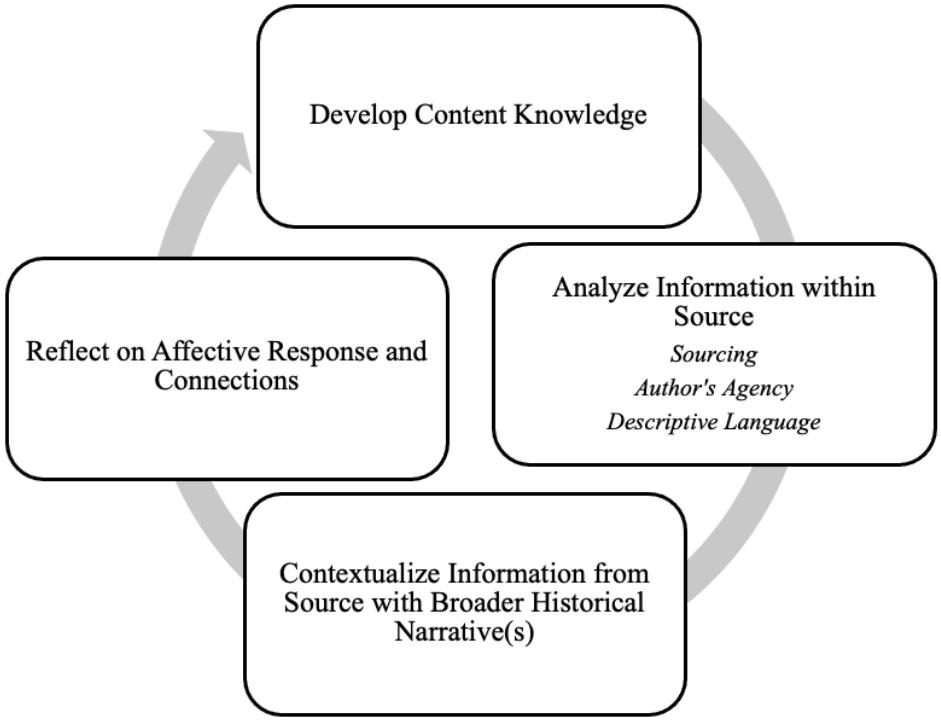
I expand on this work to analyze how coaching that follows a structured protocol can support how history teachers enact an essential but challenging component of traumatic history instruction—teach students to analyze a first-person narrative.

Framework for Coaching Traumatic History Instruction

I drew upon literature of historical source analysis (e.g., Grant, 2018), psychoanalytic theories of traumatic histories (e.g., Britzman, 2000), and Holocaust education (e.g., Simon, 2005) to develop a framework that reflects the relationships between content knowledge, historical source analysis, historical narratives, and affective responses as interrelated components of high-quality traumatic history instruction (Figure 1). Instructional coaching can be utilized to further teachers' preparation for and enactment of each of these components of traumatic history.

Figure 1

Framework for Traumatic History Instruction



In this study, I developed and utilized an instructional coaching protocol focused on one component of this framework: teaching students to analyze information within a source. When teaching students to analyze sources from traumatic histories, including first-person narratives, this framework emphasizes component skills of sourcing the context of authorship, analyzing the

author's historical agency, and analyzing the author's use of descriptive language. I incorporated these skills into an instructional coaching protocol initially designed for coaches to provide feedback on a novice teacher's text-focused instruction in a practice setting (Cohen et al., 2023). In the sections that follow, I describe each of these component skills, how they align to research of traumatic history instruction, and how an instructional coach can support teachers' implementation of these skills.

Sourcing

Sourcing a text means to analyze the context of when and where a source was created, by whom, for what audience, and for what purpose (NCSS, 2013; Wineburg, 1991). When teaching students to analyze sourcing, teachers ask about the authorship of the text, including who wrote it and their purpose (Goldman & Popp, 2022). One way teachers do this is by asking students to analyze the SOAPSTone, or speaker, occasion, audience, purpose, subject, and tone of the text (Popp & Hoard, 2018). Readers can often analyze sourcing by examining an author's dedication, introduction, or the publishing information of a source.

Sourcing is theorized to be particularly important when teaching students to analyze first-person narratives, as students may be able to understand that the source is recorded by a real individual who experienced an otherwise abstract traumatic history (Simon, 2005; Totten & Feinberg, 2016). Totten (2019) argues that this analysis can help students understand how context influenced what the author wrote, as survivors may write about a traumatic history differently than perpetrators may write about the same events. Additionally, theory suggests that sourcing and contextualizing the events of the text can help readers understand that each author experienced the history differently (Totten, 2019). Analyzing sourcing can help readers consider why an author recorded their narrative the way they did.

The coach follows the protocol for sourcing if the teacher did not ask questions about the sourcing of the text. The coach prompts the teacher to identify questions they would ask about sourcing, including the authorship of the text, the context in which this text was written, or the author's goals for the text. In these coaching sessions, the coach guides the teacher to consider who wrote the text, when and where it was written, what was happening when the author wrote the text, prevailing attitudes at the time the author wrote the text, if the author explicitly stated a purpose for writing, and how the context of authorship can impact what the author wrote. If the teacher does not answer these questions, the coach can direct the teacher to identify exemplary responses based on the dedication section.

Historical Agency

Historical agency refers to individuals' motivations, decisions, and behaviors (Ashby et al., 2005; Barton, 2012). Analyzing historical agency is more than one specific skill; it is a broader conceptual understanding that historical actors make decisions considering their circumstances (NCSS, 2013). Colley (2017) explains that historical agency is "a way of looking at the past to decipher the choices actors make, the consequences of those actions and the context of the limitations facing those actors" (p. 158). Teachers can teach students to analyze historical agency by including sources written by a diverse range of historical actors and by prompting students to analyze the causes and effects of individuals' actions.

Teachers foreground the agency of individuals when analyzing a historical source by asking questions about specific actors' agency. When teachers ask students about the agency of the victims and survivors, they can teach students to challenge dominant narratives of dehumanization and replace them with narratives of resistance (Bickford & Clabough, 2020; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Conversely, questions about the historical agency of oppressors can

portray the people who experienced oppression as passive, identity-less victims. In other words, teachers' questions can emphasize or negate the historical agency of authors of first-person narratives.

The coach follows the protocol for historical agency if the teacher primarily asked questions that focus on the agency of the oppressors or questions that frame the author as a de-agentic, passive recipient of others' actions. In these coaching sessions, the coach asks the teacher to discuss agency in two ways: what the author experienced and felt as an agentic figure in the text itself and what the author intended to accomplish by writing the text itself. Through these questions, the teacher can help students understand how and why the author made specific choices, including the choice to record their narrative.

Descriptive Language

Descriptive language refers to specific sensory details that the author included, such as sights and smells. Although this term is more commonly associated with English education, a publication by the National Council for the Social Studies (2013) suggests that an important skill in social studies education is analyzing how authors use language to support their arguments in historical sources. Teachers develop students' literacy skills by guiding students to analyze the details an author included in the text and to consider why the author included those details (Browning & Hohenstein, 2024; Vogel, 2020).

Authors of first-person narratives commonly include descriptive language to elicit an emotional response from readers (e.g., Mills & Unworth, 2017). This is particularly relevant to analyzing first-person narratives from traumatic histories, as psychoanalytic theory suggests that learning traumatic histories is based on comprehension of the events and an affective connection to the author's experiences (Britzman, 1998, 2000; Simon, 2005; Simon et al., 2000). This

affective connection need not be limited to contemporary readers' affective connections (Simon, 2005); analyzing descriptive language may build on an analysis of sourcing by guiding readers to consider what the author of a first-person narrative intended their historical audience to feel and do upon reading the graphic descriptions of their treatment.

The coach follows the protocol for descriptive language if the teacher did not direct students to analyze descriptive details the author used to describe their experiences or analyze why the author decided to include those details. In these coaching sessions, the coach asks the teacher to identify ways they can prompt students for examples of descriptive language in the text, such as sights, smells, and sounds. The coach then asks the teacher how they can help students consider why the author included those details, what physical or emotional reactions readers associate with those descriptions, and what reaction the author may have wanted readers to experience. Through these questions, the teacher can help students understand the author's experiences and goals for writing, perspectives that can support students' affective learning and empathetic connections with people who experienced traumatic histories.

Coaching Protocol

To ensure that coaches could provide feedback on these goals in a structured format that aligned with best practices of instructional coaching, I modified Cohen and colleagues' (2023) coaching protocol initially designed for coaches to provide feedback on a teacher's text-focused instruction. I maintained the original structure of the coaching conversation, which includes opportunities for the teacher to reflect on their performance, discuss a specific goal for improvement with the coach, and role-play before teaching again (Appendix B). I built on these structural elements initially described by Cohen and colleagues (2023) by adding specific language about teaching first-person narratives as historical sources and changing the goals for

the coaching conversation to focus on skills of analyzing first-person narratives (i.e., sourcing, historical agency, descriptive language). This adapted coaching protocol scaffolds the coaching conversations (Reisman & Beckwith, 2023) in line with the best practices from history and coaching literature, described below.

The coaching conversation opens with a reflective dialogue between the coach and the teacher. First, the coach asks the teacher to reflect on their instruction and identify if there are areas they want to improve. In addition to responding to the teacher's perception of their lesson, the coach provides positive feedback to affirm what the teacher did well and why those actions are important for teaching (Hattie & Timperley, 2007), particularly for first-person narratives. The coach and teacher then discuss the teacher's understanding of why it is important to include first-person narratives to complement and challenge other perspectives on history (Fogo, 2014).

The second half of this coaching model builds on teachers' reflections by incorporating directive coaching oriented around specific goals for improvement (Deussen et al., 2007). In each conversation, the coach identifies a goal for how the teacher can better support students' analysis of the first-person narrative. The coach follows a protocol with discussion prompts to guide the teacher to consider why this goal is important, develop questions the teacher could ask to support students' historical source analysis, and identify exemplary responses.

Finally, the coach and teacher role-play a segment of instruction. In the role-play, the teacher practices asking questions about the text while the coach pretends to be a student. This practice opportunity allows teachers to implement the coach's feedback before they teach again.

Methodology

I recruited seven novice social studies teachers to participate in this multiple case study (Yin, 2018) of how teachers teach a first-person narrative before and after they receive

instructional coaching. These participants were graduates from the same teacher education program two years before data collection. This connection presented an opportunity for convenience sampling, but these teachers subsequently gained experience teaching in diverse contexts in urban, suburban, rural, public, and private schools in one southern state (Figure 2).

Figure 2

Multiple Case Study Participants

Participant's Pseudonym	**Current Teaching Context**	**Demographics**
Albert	Public middle school in suburbs outside large Mid-Atlantic city	White male, mid-20's
Baldwin	Public high school in rural south	White male, mid-20's
Britt	Private all-female middle school in small southern city	White female, mid-20's
Casie	Public middle school in small southern city	White female, mid-20's
Doug	Public secondary (grades 7-12) school in suburbs outside large Mid-Atlantic city	White male, mid-20's
Dora	Public high school in suburbs outside large southern city	White female, late-20's
Palmer	Public high school in small southern city	White male, late-20's

All participants identified as cisgender white, non-Hispanic people in their mid- to late-20's. While this sample roughly aligns with the demographics of the American teaching force writ large, it does not represent the racial, ethnic, and gender diversity of American students (IES, 2020). Further research can examine how a more diverse sample of teachers in other contexts teach this text and respond to coaching.

Study Design

I utilize a multiple case study design (Yin, 2018) to examine how teachers taught Equiano's *Narrative* and how they responded to instructional coaching. Each teacher planned and taught a 15-minute lesson segment introducing and using Equiano's narrative in a mixed-reality simulated classroom setting, received instructional coaching, then had an

opportunity to re-do their instruction. This study design aligns with research of instructional coaching as a cycle of observation, feedback, and teaching (Kraft et al., 2018).

Mixed-reality simulation platforms are commonly used to prepare novices in professional training programs, including education, medicine, and aviation (e.g., Grossman et al., 2009; McGahie et al., 2009). In the mixed-reality simulation in this study, teachers interacted with a virtual classroom of digital avatars representing high school students (Figure 3). A trained actor controlled each student in real time, responding to teachers' directions, questions, and prompts (Driver et al., 2018). Mixed-reality practice may be particularly helpful for novice social studies teachers to practice teaching challenging topics before teaching real students (Geller et al., 2022).

Figure 3

Student avatars in simulated classroom setting

Simulated classrooms provide a standardized platform to analyze teachers' instructional actions in a realistic approximation of a classroom setting while standardizing some variables, such as students' behaviors and prior knowledge (Dieker et al., 2014). This is valuable for

researchers and teacher educators, as they can design simulations that minimize the role of student actions that are not under study. Because I was interested in studying teachers' intended instruction in a low-intensity environment, I instructed the actor to respond to teachers' questions with brief responses without predetermined incorrect answers, interruptions, or off-task behaviors. Such standardization is not possible in a classroom environment. Consequently, I was able to analyze teachers' instruction independent of school-specific variables that could influence their instruction in ways irrelevant to my research questions.

In addition to providing a consistent format for analyzing teachers' enacted instructions, simulated classrooms allow researchers to examine the impact of instructional coaching in real time, as participants can teach a lesson, participate in coaching, then immediately teach their lesson again to a standardized classroom setting (Cohen et al., 2020). Social studies teachers seldom receive such an opportunity, as a year may pass before they teach a topic again. The opportunity to teach, receive coaching, and teach again allows teachers to quickly implement the coaching and allows researchers to examine if their instruction changes after coaching.

In this study, a trained instructional coach observed each participant on Zoom as they taught their first lesson to the simulated classroom. Because teachers are more likely to receive generalist coaching than content-specific social studies coaching (Kraft et al., 2018), I recruited a coach with general instructional expertise. The coach in this study was a former English teacher who had previously served as an instructional coach for many studies of instructional coaching in teacher education. Prior to data collection, the coach completed 90 minutes of training on the coaching protocol, including discussing the text and role-playing each coaching focus.

During each participant's first lesson, the coach observed instruction, took notes on a Qualtrics form, and identified a way the teacher could improve their lesson. Immediately

following this first lesson, the coach and teacher met on Zoom for a 15-minute coaching session. All coaching sessions followed a parallel structure regardless of the specific component on which a participant was be coached (Appendix B).

Following each coaching session, the participant then taught another 15-minute lesson about the same section of text. In this second session, the actor-controlled student avatars to act as though the first lesson had never happened, effectively providing teachers an opportunity to "re-do" their instruction. All lessons and coaching sessions were recorded on Zoom and subsequently transcribed.

Text Selection

I designed the coaching protocol to be useful for all first-person narratives but selected one text for participants to teach this study: an excerpt from *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano* (Appendix A). In his narrative, first published in 1789, Equiano describes his childhood in what is now southeast Nigeria, his kidnapping and experiences on a ship crossing the Atlantic Ocean, and his enslavement in the mid-1700's. Teachers teach this narrative in many educational settings, including high school and collegiate history and literature courses (Hauver et al., 2022; Lamore, 2012).

The excerpt teachers used included Equiano's dedication to the Parliament of Great Britain and two chapters in which he describes the brutal conditions on the Middle Passage of the transatlantic slave trade. Equiano (2005) explained in the dedication that he wrote his narrative "to excite in your august assemblies a sense of compassion for the miseries which the Slave-Trade has entailed on my unfortunate countrymen." Equiano (2005) hoped that if Parliament understood the horrors of the slave trade and felt compassion after reading his account, they would ultimately abolish the slave trade. To persuade Parliament, Equiano (2005)

included graphic descriptions of his treatment and the conditions on the slave ship. These excerpts provide many opportunities for teachers to engage students in analyzing the sourcing, the author's agency, and the author's use of descriptive language.

Data Collection

I collected data at three stages: before teachers received coaching, during the coaching session, and after the coaching session. This multilayered data collection allowed me to triangulate the answers to my research questions (Figure 4). Throughout my data collection, I used a case study protocol and wrote reflective memos, as Yin (2018) recommends for reliability of findings in case study research.

Figure 4

Alignment of Data and Research Questions

Phase	Data Source	Relevant Research Question(s)
Pre- coaching	Pre-lesson survey	1. How do novice teachers teach an excerpt of a first-person narrative?
	Transcript of lesson	1. How do novice teachers teach an excerpt of a first-person narrative?
Coaching session	Transcript of coaching	2.a. What coaching did they receive?
Post-coaching	Transcript of lesson	1. How do novice teachers teach an excerpt of a first-person narrative? 2.b. How did they respond?
	Post-lesson survey	2.b. How did they respond?
	Interview transcript	1. How do novice teachers teach an excerpt of a first-person narrative? 2. What coaching did they receive and how did they respond?

Before coaching, each teacher completed a pre-lesson survey on Qualtrics that included questions about their confidence and plan for the lesson (Appendix C). During their lesson, each teacher logged on Zoom for a 1-hour session that was recorded and subsequently transcribed. This Zoom session included a discussion between the coach and teacher about their lesson plan, the teacher's 15-minute pre-coaching lesson, the 15-minute coaching session, and the teacher's

15-minute post-coaching lesson. At the conclusion of the lesson, the coach sent the teacher a link to a post-lesson Qualtrics survey link (Appendix D). Following each recorded lesson and coaching session, I wrote a reflective memo on each teacher's recorded session after observing their lesson and coaching; I wrote an additional memo after I transcribed each session. I used these memos to record my ideas and the circumstances surrounding data collection (Corbin & Strauss, 2015).

Within one week of each teacher's lesson and coaching, I met with each teacher for a 60-minute semi-structured interview, which was conducted and recorded on Zoom. I utilized a standardized interview protocol (Appendix E) and added additional questions specific to each teacher's lesson and survey responses. I recorded and transcribed all interviews, writing reflective memos after each interview to maintain a chain of evidence (Yin, 2018). One participant (Britt) sent an email with "additional thoughts" at the conclusion of the interview; I included this email in her interview transcript. I wrote a reflective memo for each participant at the conclusion of their interview and added notes to the memos after I transcribed each (Corbin & Strauss, 2015).

Data Analysis

I reviewed 21% of the lesson transcripts using deductive codes that align with the framework for traumatic history instruction, such as sourcing the context of authorship and historical agency. Based on this experience, I revised the codebook to include inductive codes, such as "teacher explanation" and to create child codes for a broad category of "text analysis". I included specific examples from the data to illustrate each code in the codebook (Appendix F). I wrote analytic memos to document all revisions to my codebook before coding lesson transcripts (Yin, 2018).

I uploaded all transcripts to Dedoose, a qualitative data analysis software that allows for blind double coding. I excerpted teachers' discourse in the lesson transcript into turns-of-talk without subject changes or pauses (Waring, 2018). I first analyzed all pre-coaching excerpts, writing analytic memos for each teacher and a pre-coaching cross-case memo before repeating the process for all post-coaching lessons (Yin, 2018). A doctoral student who was not affiliated with data collection blind double coded 21% of the lesson data, resulting in 97.8% overall agreement on coding excerpts and surpassing Miles and Huberman's (2014) recommendation for 80% agreement on 95% of codes.

After we coded all participants' lessons transcripts, I selected focal cases by identifying one participant from each coaching focus area whose instruction changed the most (Merriam, 2002). These focal cases represent the potential for how this coaching can support teachers to apply historical reading skills to first-person narratives. I examined survey and interview data to triangulate my findings for each participant before writing within-case summaries (Yin, 2018). Finally, I conducted a cross-case analysis to synthesize how participants taught the narrative and responded to coaching regardless of coaching focus (Yin, 2018).

Limitations

While this study offers promising findings of this coaching model's effectiveness with these novice teachers, there are some methodological limitations that may be addressed by future research with a more diverse sample of teachers. For example, all teachers in this study graduated from the same teacher preparation program in which they learned that it was important to analyze historical sources; it is unclear how this coaching may support teachers who had not previously learned the skills of historical source analysis. Additionally, all teachers in this sample identify as white, non-Hispanic people. Because readers understand historical events differently

when they share a heritage with the relevant historical agents (Levy, 2014), Black teachers may teach Equiano's narrative differently or respond to coaching differently.

The findings of this study reflect participants' enacted instruction in a practice setting, not in participants' classrooms. Although two participants said they changed the ways they teach in their classrooms as a result of their practice and coaching experience, I cannot conclusively determine the ways in which this practice corresponds to changes in their classroom practice in this study. Further research may consider the relationship between coaching in a practice setting and enacted classroom instruction, as well as the ways that this coaching can be utilized in classroom instruction. Additionally, while coaching may support teachers' planning, I studied this coaching model in relation to teachers' enacted instruction without providing guidance during the planning stage; more research is necessary to explore how coaching at various stages can support teachers' instruction as aligned to the framework for traumatic history instruction.

Findings

To understand how teachers taught without support and the potential for this coaching protocol, I did not provide teachers with specific directions for what to include in their instruction. Before coaching, teachers primarily asked comprehension questions about the events of the text and the meaning of specific words or phrases. After coaching, the teachers explained their interpretation of the text less and instead asked more questions that aligned with principles of historical source analysis, including sourcing and the author's intent. In what follows, I describe how each of the three focal teachers taught before coaching, their coaching sessions, and how they taught after coaching.

Casie: Sourcing the Text

Casie is a public middle school civics teacher in a suburban area in the American South. Casie wrote on her pre-lesson survey that she felt "nervous" about teaching Equiano's narrative. In her interview, Casie explained, "I don't want to feel guilty or like a bad person for not answering their question, or for saying the wrong thing, or for not being as aware of either the history or as culturally aware in responding to it." Additionally, Casie told her coach that she felt "pained" when reading Equiano's narrative: "I could just feel my body tensing up." These nerves were deepened by Casie's lack of experience teaching source analysis, as Casie had not led "a class discussion on a text like this."

Casie's Lesson Before Coaching

Casie wrote that her objective was for students "to understand the horrors of the transatlantic slave trade by examining the words Olaudah Equiano used to describe his life." Casie planned "to open by asking students which words or lines stuck out to them in the text and have them explain their reasoning. Then, I will ask a series of questions designed to have students share their literary analysis of the text. We will focus on specific words Equiano used to communicate the horrors of the middle passage." When the coach asked what Casie hoped students would take away from the lesson, Casie explained, "I hope that they are able to identify the language that Equiano uses and how that shows historical trauma, how his choice of words shows the dehumanization that he experienced."

Casie opened her lesson by asking students "to make a short list of words or phrases that really stuck out to you from this text, something that was particularly impactful." After individual work time, Casie directed students to discuss their ideas with a classmate. Casie asked one student to share "one of the words that stuck out to you and why." A student explained why they selected the term "astonishment", to which Casie responded, "That's really interesting."

Casie then explained her analysis of the term "astonishment." Casie spoke for the majority of the lesson, with few opportunities for students to explain their answers as she had initially planned.

After each student shared a word that stood out to them, Casie explained that the words students selected showed "the impact of being forced to stay under capture." Casie encouraged students to consider additional evidence of that impact, including Equiano's description that the smell below decks was "pestilential." Casie asked, "Does anybody know the definition of 'pestilential?'" A student raised their hand and answered that the term relates to disease, bugs, and pestilence. Casie responded,

> Exactly. We go from him explaining the affect, the feeling he has, that being in that space is intolerable. We can understand vividly that it's a horrid experience, right? That's what he's feeling. Then he kind of shows us the impact, not just in an affective way from you have the feeling, but also in that disease was spreading among people on the ship. So what he's describing is it didn't just have a stench that was hard to bear, it also was literally a place of being denied the right to health and to safety, which he shows in other ways, too. I wanted to just kind of tease that apart in one particular sentence.

During Casie's explanation, a student raised their hand. Casie said, "We'll get to you in just a second." The student interjected that the time for the lesson had elapsed.

Casie's Coaching Session

Casie's coach greeted her after her lesson and asked Casie how she felt about the lesson. Casie replied, "I thought it went okay" and that in her next lesson, "I feel like getting more questions a little faster so that we can direct ourselves to a specific line." The coach responded, "You'll get to practice it again. We're going to use this time to hopefully help you feel even more prepared, and you can try a different approach." After a brief discussion of why first-person narratives are important to include in instruction, the coach provided Casie with feedback that she "did a really good job of diving into those text-based questions, thinking about the choices that Equiano was making, and how he told his story."

The coach told Casie that her goal for the second lesson was to help students analyze the sourcing of the text, including "who wrote the text, when, where, and what else was happening concurrently in the world." Casie replied, "I think those skills are really important. To be able to look at a source, and even before you read the body of it, to be able to identify the who, what, where, when. And then the why and the how, you have to read it to be able to analyze those parts. But if you can walk in with those other things framed, then you can approach it with a critical lens." Casie's coach agreed with this description, then explained how this coaching focus could build on what Casie taught in her previous lesson: "all those really great language choices that you all were pointing out, why did he do that? The context helps us understand *why* he gives so much depth to describing the pestilential smell of the boat."

In the next step of the coaching protocol, the coach asked Casie to identify specific prompts she could ask students to analyze the sourcing of the text. Casie said she would ask questions from "the historical thinking chart," referring to a resource she learned in her teacher preparation program. Casie listed questions she would ask, including "Who wrote this? Where was it? Who was it meant for? And the dedication gets to that so we can look at those very first lines one through four. We can also talk about audience, just given that whole page, who he was meant to be like convincing."

Casie's coach replied, "These are the types of questions that help us get to purpose. Those contextual questions might help us understand what the author is writing and why he might be writing it." Casie's coach provided an example that Equiano "explicitly states in the dedication as well that idea of 'inspiring a sense of compassion for the miseries of the slave trade', which I think segues very nicely into the discussion that you had about descriptive language." The coach

then prompted Casie to role-play how she would ask these questions before Casie taught her second lesson.

Casie's Instruction After Coaching

Casie opened her second lesson by incorporating the questions she discussed with her coach. She prompted, "So let's start at the very top. I'm on page one. Can anybody tell me who wrote this narrative?" After a brief discussion of the multiple names Equiano used, Casie asked another question about the sourcing of the text: "Who is he trying to appeal to? To whom is he writing?" After students responded correctly, Casie said, "You've connected his name to whom he is speaking. Good! Does anybody see a date on this very first page?" A student correctly identified the date as March 24, 1789. Casie replied, "Good, 1789. I want to focus on that piece. What else is going on in the world?" Casie further prompted students to "think about the historical context. Were enslaved people allowed to learn to read or to write?" By asking these questions, Casie linked students' analysis of the sourcing to their knowledge of the historical context in which the text was written.

Following this analysis of sourcing, Casie returned to the objective from her first lesson: analyzing the words that Equiano used to portray his experiences. Casie said, "We've talked about who wrote this, when it was written, where it was delivered, and to whom, right? Let's now shift and say why do you think Equiano wrote this? And why do you think he used the horrific descriptive language that he did when he wrote this?" Casie discussed this concept with students, calling their attention to "tie this language, the horrific language" to Equiano's dedication to Parliament. Finally, Casie asked students to complete the task she used in her first lesson: "pull out some words that really spoke to you," connecting students' selected words to Equiano's goal

of soliciting compassion from Parliament. This indicates that Casie incorporated historical thinking into her original lesson objective without replacing her instructional vision.

In her interview, Casie reflected that the coaching she received "makes a lot of sense. We hadn't talked about historical context, so I thought that was really helpful." As a result, Casie shifted her goal from her lesson plan, where she said she wanted to teach a literary analysis; in her interview, Casie stated, "it is very valuable to do that sourcing, and not just treat it like a piece of literature or something." Casie elaborated that the practice and coaching "transformed me. I don't mean to be dramatic, but I think it was really good for me to do. I'm actually being so serious. I think it was good for me to have an experience teaching a first-person narrative in a low-stakes setting, and then to do it again, having pointed out things like, 'Oh, could you connect the words to the sourcing?' That was really helpful." This low-stakes practice was particularly important for Casie, who had been very nervous about making mistakes in front of her students.

Casie contrasted the helpfulness of this coaching with her previous professional development. Casie stated, "Nobody has listened to me do something or watched my class do something and been able to instructionally give me history help" before this opportunity for practice and coaching. Casie described this practice and coaching as influencing her instruction: "It wasn't talking about 'how do we teach it?' It was actually teaching it and engaging. I feel like I've talked about 'How do we teach hard history' for hundreds of hours at this point, and not actually had a low-stakes opportunity to practice it, to be honest." Casie said that coaching built her confidence that "I know how I could actually make this better."

Casie said that she "brought some of this into my classroom" when she asked students to analyze a text the following week. "I was like, 'all right guys. So what was the date it was ratified? What war just ended? Where are we?' We were just doing that. I actually felt more

comfortable talking about hard history, enslavement in particular. And I just felt freer now." As a result of her decreased nervousness, Casie said she is "more likely to use first-person narratives, I'm more likely to teach traumatic history feeling like I can do it and have a plan to do it rather than just getting so intimidated by the fear of messing up." Additionally, she wrote that she is more likely to teach first-person narratives in her government class now "and I could do that by showing how people have been impacted by laws, Supreme Court cases, etc." Coaching not only improved Casie's enacted instruction about sourcing: Casie said that coaching improved her confidence and preparedness to teach other first-person narratives.

Britt: Historical Agency

Britt teaches fifth and sixth-grade history at an all-girls private school in a small city in the American South. In this role, Britt developed her curricula independent of state standards or state-wide assessment expectations. Britt reported feeling comfortable with the content, as she previously taught a three-month unit on histories of enslavement in which she taught excerpts of Olaudah Equiano's *Narrative*. Britt told her coach that she "was very familiar" with the text and was "looking forward to getting to teach it in a little bit of a different context." Britt reported feeling "a little overwhelmed by the amount of stuff that could be talked about," however, and planned "to include a condensed version of some of the things I do" in her real classroom.

Britt's Lesson Before Coaching

Britt wrote that her objective was that "students know how to contextualize and source a document, know that chattel slavery holds people and property and is based on violence, and that enslaved people asserted their humanity in the midst of slavery." Britt planned to "set norms," "define some aspects of slavery," "contextualize and source Olaudah Equiano's narrative," and

"have students analyze the dehumanization employed by enslavers and the ways Olaudah Equiano and others asserted their humanity."

Britt opened her lesson by explaining norms for students, including that "this is an emotionally charged text" and that students should use the term "enslaved person" instead of "slave." Following these norms, Britt summarized Equiano's experiences before the section students were analyzing in class. Britt then directed students to "work on sourcing the text. And when I say sourcing, I mean brainstorming together: who wrote this, the author's perspective, when the text was written, and then why he wrote it." Students worked quietly for two minutes before Britt called on students to answer the historical sourcing questions.

After students discussed sourcing, Britt said, "Let's move on to the main activity that I want to talk about today. I want us to start thinking about the definition of slavery as being based on violence and dehumanization, so treating someone as less than human." Britt then prompted students to "spend two minutes, and you can write down your examples, looking through the text and coming up with two examples of the dehumanization that Olaudah Equiano experiences on the ship. Two examples of dehumanization and then two examples of resistance: How does he or someone else who's experiencing slavery resist that dehumanization?" Britt provided students with two minutes to silently analyze the text.

Britt asked students for "two examples of the dehumanization that Olaudah Equiano experiences on the ship," and students provided examples of dehumanization perpetrated by enslavers. Britt then asked for "rehumanization examples," which subtly framed Equiano and other enslaved people as passive recipients of dehumanization and rehumanization. The class discussed an instance of how enslavers "rehumanized" Equiano in which Britt described the

enslavers' motives as "they want him to at least feel better or to be quiet." The class did not discuss how Equiano or other enslaved people resisted enslavement before they ran out of time.

Britt's Coaching Session

Britt told her coach that she felt her lesson "went pretty good" and "we stuck to my plan pretty well. I wish we had a little bit more time for the rehumanization piece at the end, just because that piece is so important." Britt's coach provided positive feedback that Britt "kept the students text-focused" in her first lesson. The coach then established a goal to address Equiano's historical agency, incorporating Britt's concern about not spending enough time to discuss rehumanization. The coach explained, "One thing that I really want to push you on is that in that last experience, we were thinking a lot about the actions of others, right? We were talking about dehumanization, the actions of the oppressors, the experiences that he was having at the hands of the oppressors." The coach explained that a goal for Britt's instruction, therefore, was to "think about the agency that Olaudah has as a teller of history himself."

When the coach prompted Britt to consider "questions you could ask students about this text to understand his actions and his feelings rather than the actions that the oppressor took, Britt replied that "the resistance piece can get at that." Britt then provided multiple examples she could discuss with her students, including "the feeling words he's using in the text and talking about what those communicate about his experience," as she had previously planned to include that in her lesson before she ultimately chose to ask about dehumanization. Britt's coach provided positive feedback that Britt provided good examples before encouraging Britt to "get students to build that bridge between what he went through and the detail with which he's describing it and his purpose," as analyzing Equiano's intent can help readers understand his role as a historical agent who made specific choices in how he recorded his narrative.

After they discussed the coaching goal and the importance of framing Equiano as the central historical agent of the text, Britt and her coach moved into a role-play that would begin after the initial analysis of sourcing. In this role play, Britt indicated that she was still thinking about how to incorporate this feedback:

> My first question for you is, he's reliving this experience several years after he got out of slavery. He's now a free man. I'd like you to think a little bit about why he's describing this experience in such detail so many years after having lived it. So let's take a look at [pause] hmm! I'm not quite ready for this. Let me look at this for a second. [pause] Let's take a look at this paragraph that starts on line 52. I want you to think about why he is choosing to describe both the setting of the ship in such detail and his experience with refusing to eat food. Why did he choose to give those details?

As the role-play continued, Britt asked questions without pausing and developed a clearer plan for the questions she would ask. At the conclusion of the role-play, Britt's coach encouraged Britt that her instruction "worked really well, pushing students to connect what they're reading to his larger purpose and the ways that this might sway the hearts and minds of some of the people who are still in an open debate about slavery and about the ongoing slave trade. That really keeps the focus on resistance. Writing this is an act of resistance." Britt told her coach that was "a good point" and she felt "ready to go" teach again.

Britt's Instruction After Coaching

Britt opened her second lesson similarly to the pre-coaching lesson, establishing norms and then asking students to source the text. Instead of asking about dehumanization and rehumanization as Britt did in her first lesson, she introduced Equiano as an agentic "abolitionist. He believes that slavery should no longer exist, and he's writing for people to agree with him and join him in trying to abolish slavery. … So with that goal in mind, he is sitting down to write this years later. He's going back and reliving his experiences. Let's take a look at the rest of the text and think about how he's achieving that goal." In this lesson, Britt connected Equiano's

authorship to his actions as a historical agent, unlike how she separated sourcing from analysis of the text in her first lesson.

Following a brief discussion of how Equiano felt "overwhelmed by the smells and all of the chaos," Britt prompted students, "Why is he choosing to relive that moment?" Students responded with their analysis of enslavers' inhumanity and enslaved people's resilience in the circumstances. Britt responded to students' answers by emphasizing the actions and perspectives of Equiano and other enslaved peoples. For example, Britt used the term "resistance," which positions Equiano as an active historical agent: "There's a couple of examples that he gives in the text of ways that he resists, or is resilient, or fights back against that dehumanization. Does anyone have an example for me of one time when Olaudah Equiano fights back or resists?" Britt called on one final student to provide "another example of resistance" before the time for the lesson expired. After coaching, Britt did not reference "rehumanization" or ask questions that foreground the enslavers' actions.

Britt explained in her interview that she shifted her instruction because of the feedback from her coach. Britt said, "When my coach had zeroed in on agency and centering the agency of the enslaved, and in particular the agency of Olaudah Equiano, I felt like the best way to make him the center of the story or the center of the lesson would be to focus on his goals and talking about how he achieved those in the text." Britt particularly appreciated this "zeroing in," as she had struggled to determine a specific instructional objective. Britt reflected in her post-simulation survey that "it can be difficult to balance the individual experiences of people experiencing historical trauma with some of the broader learning goals in my class. Sometimes I end up overemphasizing the bigger picture over individual experiences even as I teach narratives

of historical trauma. I think I could do a better job of emphasizing the individual experiences of the authors."

Britt felt that she did not need coaching on why to use first-person narratives, as she already used them in her instruction. Instead, Britt wanted coaching on what she described as "that implementation piece." Consequently, described the role-play as the "most helpful" element of coaching. Britt reflected that after her role play, she had a lesson plan "that flowed a little bit more. I think I had kind of come up with lots of disparate things that I wanted to do and not necessarily connected them. And kind of like, 'okay this feels like a more cohesive 15-minute thing that I can do' and also felt like a connection that I could make with students in that amount of time." Britt elaborated:

> It takes a shockingly long time, in my experience as a novice teacher, for theory to be translated into practice. I have understood the theory of historical source analysis since [teacher education program], but it is only in my second year of teaching that I've been able to consistently implement it in the classroom. I think it's interesting to consider that the same thing may be happening around first-person narratives: that I have a theory of how and why they should be used that I struggle to implement in practice. I think that this is where the coaching between simulations was most helpful: helping me reflect on my practice in order to identify the gap between theory and practice and begin to bridge it.

Dora: Descriptive Language

In her first year of teaching, Dora taught history and economics at two public high schools in a suburban district outside a large city in the American South. In her second year, she taught world history full-time at one of those schools. Dora wrote that she felt confident going into this practice because she regularly incorporates topics of oppression, racism, and first-person narratives in her instruction. Additionally, Dora said she used "a condensed version" of Equiano's *Narrative* as an instructional source when students worked in small groups to respond to written comprehension questions about enslaved laborers' experiences. She had not previously

read Equiano's dedication or moderated a student analysis of the text, however, as her students had read and analyzed the text based on written directions.

Dora's Lesson Before Coaching

Dora explained that she wanted her lesson to connect students' emotional reactions to "Equiano's intent in writing this account. I think it will help students process how they feel when we consider that Equiano is trying to elicit compassion. It allows us to explore empathy without pretending to fully understand." When speaking with her coach before her lesson, Dora explained she

> went into this thinking, 'okay, this is like something that's really hard for me to process' and so I wanted them to go into this with the idea of 'how does this make you feel?' And also leaning into that dedication, which I had never really read before, that it's to British Parliament, being like, 'oh, the intent of this is to elicit compassion' and that's part of the reason that this is so honest. And so I thought it's a good way to engender understanding without being like, 'let's pretend like you really do understand what this is.' It's understanding almost what it was like to be a British person reading this rather than being an enslaved person experiencing it.

To reach these goals, Dora planned "to set expactations [sic], then lead a guided discussion where students can explore the impact of Equiano's account on them, understand the intent of the document, and gain a better understanding of the conditions of the Transatlantic slave trade."

Dora opened her lesson by saying, "I know that this is a really hard text to read, not just from the perspective of the words are difficult and the grammar is difficult, but also it can be a really emotional text, right? Did you guys feel a little emotional sometimes reading it?" After students responded affirmatively, Dora established norms that "your feelings here are totally valid" and "if you say something that offends another student, it's not a big deal. We're in a learning environment. We're going to say 'sorry.'"

Dora asked questions that emphasized students' reactions to the text, including "How did this text make you guys feel" and "Did anybody else feel like this was a tough read emotionally

for them?" After two students responded, Dora connected their emotions to Equiano's intent by prompting, "This is a harrowing tale. It's incredibly sad and overwhelming. I also wanted to kind of explore what you said here in that the intent of the narrative, like why he wrote it. Thinking about that dedication, which is lines one through 26, what do you think Equiano intended to do when writing this document?" After a student read a line from the dedication aloud, Dora asked, "Abolition, what does that mean?" The class then briefly discussed Equiano's intent in persuading Parliament to abolish the transatlantic slave trade.

Following this discussion of sourcing, Dora asked students to provide examples from the text to which they had a strong emotional reaction. Dora said, "he's trying to elicit compassion from Parliament, right? Where in the text do you see some of this language that is very explicit and evocative? Maybe things that impacted you." By asking about students' reactions, Dora shifted away from analyzing Equiano's intent to persuade Parliament.

Dora closed her lesson by asking a series of comprehension-based questions, including "What's the cargo" and "Why were people jumping off the ship." Dora ran out of time before she was able to ask students to hypothesize if Equiano's audience would have responded to this text with compassion.

Dora's Coaching Session

After her lesson, Dora told her coach, "I think it went pretty well overall. I hit almost everything I wanted to," except for whether students "thought it was an effective narrative in this idea of wanting to engender compassion." Dora's coach replied that Dora "made a really important point when we were talking earlier that we do not want our students to feel that they can understand the experience of being enslaved or being part of the Middle Passage, but we do want them to be thinking about the effect of descriptive language." The coach told Dora that her

goal for the second lesson, therefore, was to incorporate analysis of how Equiano used descriptive language to persuade Parliament rather than an introspective reflection on whether they felt compassion as readers in the 21st century.

Dora's coach provided feedback that Dora did a good job of asking students to analyze sourcing and acknowledge the role of emotion, but the coach wanted Dora to "connect" these concepts to the author's use of descriptive language. The coach explained, "The next place to push would be: Who's the audience? What does Equiano want the audience to feel? What does he want them to do based on those feelings? And then to your next point, what descriptive language does he use to build those emotions?" The coach prompted Dora to identify questions she could ask students "to start to build these bridges between context, descriptive language, and emotions." Dora said she would revise her lesson plan to ask students for specific examples of what Equiano saw and smelled.

The coach encouraged Dora to "do a little bit of bridge building for your students between that conversation we started with about the compassion and the Parliament and this really powerful language, like 'stench.'" Specifically, Dora's coach encouraged her to help students analyze why Equiano made those choices, not how students responded: "We want to make sure that they're really thinking about the use of the descriptive language and how it relates to the context that Equiano is writing in, the purpose that he is writing for, and the audience that he's writing to. You did a really nice job of sending them into text to find those things and then you can keep pushing on intention." After Dora and her coach discussed how this could connect to her initial lesson, Dora said, "That's an interesting shift in how I was thinking about getting to that place of the effect of language and I think probably a better way of doing it." The coaching session concluded after Dora and her coach role-played instruction.

Dora's Lesson After Coaching

Dora opened her post-coaching lesson nearly identically to her first lesson, establishing norms then asking students "What emotions did you have while you were reading?" Dora asked students questions about the sourcing, including "Who was his audience" and "What does he want out of this?" A student replied that Equiano wanted Parliament to abolish slavery and to change attitudes in England, to which Dora replied, "I want to draw our attention to line six. What did he want people to feel? He uses a specific word here." After a student correctly identified "compassion," Dora summarized this discussion: "he's addressing Parliament, he wants to engender some compassion, and he's doing that in the name of abolitionism."

Dora built on this summary by asking students for "words that he uses or some things that he describes that kind of get at his experiences." Although Dora had asked students to identify specific words in her first lesson, Dora shifted her phrasing to focus on inspiring Parliament rather than inspiring students. After a student provided an example from the text, Dora reminded students that Equiano is "trying to get compassion out of people."

Dora probed for descriptive language, asking, "We're talking here about what he's seeing. What are some other senses that he's experiencing? Maybe things that he is smelling or touching. What other sensory experiences is he having in the text?" Two students replied with text evidence, including Equiano's reference to the suffocating stench—evidence that Dora had told her coach she hoped students would identify if she asked more specific questions.

Dora connected students' examples of descriptive language to their analysis of sourcing. She said, "Let's connect that back now. We talked about this pretty graphic language. We have the really descriptive verbs. We've got the smells he's experiencing. We've got these heart-wrenching accounts of people dying. How do you think that this was used to try and

persuade Parliament?" When a student explained how the brutality in the text affected them as a reader, Dora asked "Why is he willing to review all of that to write a letter to the people who condoned this," shifting the conversation back to Equiano's intent in 1789.

Before Dora ran out of time, she asked students additional questions about the source, including whether enslavement was still legal at the time of authorship and examples from the text of Equiano not being "treated like a human being." These questions represent a shift in Dora's instructional focus: in her first lesson, Dora asked for students' emotional responses; in her second lesson, Dora asked students to analyze the content of the source and how Equiano used descriptive language to persuade Parliament.

Dora reflected after her lesson that "coaching helped me tie everything together that I wanted to accomplish." Dora specified that she knew students did not reach her objective for her first lesson, "but the coaching is like, 'and here's why.'" Dora explained in her interview that coaching helped her include more historical analysis of descriptive language because she typically asks straightforward comprehension questions like "What did he say?". Dora thought coaching "was very helpful having somebody who could point out patterns to you that you didn't see yourself or a way you phrased something, where it's like 'phrasing it this way might elicit a better response.' I didn't change the format of the lesson at all. I did something almost identical but changed the words that I used." In other words, coaching helped Dora reach her instructional objective by providing guidance on how to ask about the author's use of descriptive language.

Dora said that she realized during this practice that she had previously avoided teaching descriptive language. She described her classroom instruction as "erring on the side of a little bit of scrubbing." Coaching helped her feel "empowered that you can embrace the really descriptive language and it helps [students] understand it, too." Dora elaborated that coaching helped her

learn that analyzing an author's choices is not trying "to understand what it's like to be in their shoes, but we are supposed to feel sympathetic" for the experiences that we did not experience ourselves. Consequently, Dora felt empowered to teach students to analyze Equiano's use of descriptive language instead of "scrubbing" it from her instruction.

Dora channeled these feelings to her instruction and said she is "already using the coaching on sensory language for something totally unrelated**,** and not even necessarily about first-person narratives. I find it valuable as something I can apply beyond." Dora explained that she is teaching her students to analyze authors' tones on many sources, essentially "pre-teaching historical skills so that you don't have to teach them through something that is a lot harder to process." Coaching, therefore, provided Dora with skills that she plans to use to teach historical thinking about myriad texts, not just first-person narratives.

Discussion

This study provides the first empirical evidence of how novice social studies teachers teach a first-person narrative and respond to instructional coaching. Instructional coaching helped these teachers with the challenging task of teaching students to analyze historical sources, substantiating a premise that education researchers have suggested for more than thirty years (Adler, 1991; Crocco & Livingston, 2017; van Hover & Hicks, 2017). Before coaching, each teacher's lesson focused on basic comprehension questions about the text; after coaching, all teachers engaged students in deeper historical source analysis of Equiano's *Narrative* in addition to comprehension questions. In this study, I further the research of how to support teachers' use of best practices in history education (Reisman & Beckwith, 2023; Reisman & Jay, 2024) by developing and analyzing an instructional coaching model. Teacher educators and instructional leaders can use this model to support teachers using varied texts in varied contexts.

Research on teaching traumatic histories suggests that teachers struggle to teach histories that can provoke strong emotional reactions (e.g., Zembylas, 2017). In this space, teachers did not struggle with the emotional difficulty of the text; one said that he felt that neither teaching this text nor teaching histories of enslavement are traumatic or emotional for him. Although some teachers acknowledged that teaching this text was difficult for them, all teachers said that their improvements came from specific source analysis skills that their coach supported. The findings of this study indicate that instructional coaching using this model can help teachers develop skills necessary for teaching all historical sources, but teachers learn to apply them to a first-person narrative with the potential to provoke a strong emotional response. In the sections that follow, I discuss how this study builds on previous research of instructional coaching and teaching first-person narratives.

Instructional Coaching

While the findings of this study build on research that instructional coaching can improve teachers' instruction (Kraft et al., 2018), social studies teachers seldom receive instructional coaching. All seven teachers in this study reported that they had not received content-focused instructional coaching with feedback on their instruction since they were student teachers. For example, Dora said that she receives mandatory observations, "but it's more like, 'Hey, you could post your guiding questions on the board?' And I'm like, 'I don't have a board yet.'" Teachers explained that the lack of history coaching limited their understanding of their performance and potential for improvement. As the findings of this study indicate, instructional coaching need not be limited to generic reminders of behavioral and procedural expectations. Teachers' instruction can dramatically improve when they receive content-specific coaching.

Coaching may be especially useful in practice environments for topics that teachers feel nervous, uncomfortable or unprepared to teach to real students, such as the narrative of a formerly enslaved man. Casie explained, “There's something about practicing in a low-stakes setting” that helped her feel comfortable teaching a topic she felt nervous teaching. These findings align with other research that social studies teachers benefit from opportunities to practice teaching challenging topics in a low-stakes environment (Geller et al., 2022). Additionally, this research builds on previous studies of instructional coaching in practice settings (e.g., Cohen et al., 2020, 2023) to indicate that in-service teachers also benefit from coaching on challenging pedagogical skills in a practice setting.

In this study, coaching additionally helped teachers use skills of teaching historical source analysis that were not specific to traumatic histories of challenging topics. For example, Doug stated that he knew he was supposed to ask about sourcing, but he did not do it without coaching: “I can feel myself today becoming lazy about it if I let it be lazy. Having someone sitting there reminding me like ‘hey, this is ways that you can improve’ was really good for me.” Content-specific coaching (Desimone, 2009; Gibbons & Cobb, 2017), therefore, reminded Doug to actively use the best practices he had previously learned. Teachers who receive coaching regularly may have encouragement to enact pedagogies that support student learning, such as sourcing historical texts.

This coaching model in this study offers guidance for how instructional coaches can operationalize the best practices of historical source analysis into distinct components that are relevant to teaching first-person narratives: sourcing the text, analyzing the author’s agency, and analyzing the author’s use of descriptive language. Although the coaching script included

exemplary responses based on Equiano's *Narrative*, this coaching model can be used to coach teachers who teach myriad first-person narratives.

Teachers' sourcing-related instruction (e.g., Wineburg, 1991) was primarily related to Equiano's dedication, in which he explained that he wanted Parliament to feel compassion for his experiences and support abolition. When teachers are selecting historical sources for students to read (Fogo, 2014), they can include dedications and introductory sections when available. This contextual information can empower teachers to teach about the author's agentic choices and source the author's intended audience, which may be particularly important when reading first-person narratives written by people from historically marginalized perspectives.

Even with a dedication available, however, only half of the teachers asked students to source the text in their pre-coaching lesson. Because sourcing is a fundamental component of historical source analysis (NCSS, 2013; Wineburg, 1991), further research may examine strategies to prepare teachers to utilize this skill and if teachers implement this skill with different frequencies when teaching traumatic and non-traumatic histories. While Casie's coach helped her brainstorm ways to ask students about sourcing, the other participants who were coached on sourcing struggled to identify questions to ask when sourcing a text. They each remembered only one question: Why did the author write this text? Ideally, teachers will ask multiple questions that scaffold student analysis of sourcing, including who wrote the text and to whom the author wrote. After coaching, all teachers asked multiple questions about historical sourcing. Instructional coaching helped these teachers implement practices they knew were integral to teaching history, but they nevertheless struggled to enact.

One teacher, Britt, was coached on historical agency. This is not to say that only Britt needed coaching on historical agency—the teachers who were coached on sourcing likely would

have benefitted from coaching on all topics, but each participant was coached on only one topic. While I cannot draw broad conclusions about the ways in which coaching on historical agency benefitted multiple participants, Britt changed her instruction to teach about Equiano as a historical actor rather than a passive recipient of dehumanization and rehumanization. When Britt shifted her instruction to focus on Equiano's agency, Britt taught Equiano's narrative as a counternarrative of resistance. Literature of counternarratives suggests that analyzing an author's agency and experiences instead of those of the oppressor is essential to understanding the role of individuals in counteracting oppression (e.g., Delgado, 1989; Dinani, 2021; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Britt explained in her interview that she "could do a better job of emphasizing the individual experiences of the authors of texts I choose to teach in class," indicating that coaching on historical agency helped her consider how to improve how she teaches students to analyze the agency of Equiano and of other authors.

Three teachers (i.e., Dora, Palmer, and Baldwin) were coached on descriptive language because they asked students to analyze sourcing and Equiano's historical agency but did not connect these to Equiano's vivid descriptions of his experiences. Before coaching, these teachers asked questions that emphasized students' reflections rather than historical analysis (Simon et al., 2000). Although teachers can provide space for students to reflect on their emotions (e.g., Britzman, 1998; Hauver et al., 2022), these reflections can complement students' historical source analysis. After coaching, these teachers asked about Equiano's intent to elicit Parliament's emotions instead. This suggests that teachers' instruction shifted from encouraging students to reflect on their own emotions to analyzing how and why the author intended to elicit emotions from his audience (Barton & Levstik, 2004). In other words, these teachers connected teaching historical source analysis and teaching affect-oriented instruction. Because authors often use

descriptive language to elicit an emotional reaction from their audience (e.g., Mills & Unworth, 2017) and authors of first-person narratives often want to elicit emotional reactions from their audience (e.g., Simon, 2005), teachers can use first-person narratives to help students distinguish between their contemporary reaction and the author's intent to elicit an emotional response from their intended audience; coaching can help teachers improve their instruction to reach this goal.

I initially designed this coaching to support social studies teachers in teaching first-person narratives from traumatic histories (e.g., Simon, 2005; Simon et al., 2000). To my surprise, only some of the teachers felt that Equiano's *Narrative* was traumatic or difficult to teach. To my delight, all teachers reported that the coaching helped them develop skills they would use to teach sources that were not traumatic. This suggests that coaches, instructional leaders, and teacher educators may use this coaching model to support teachers in teaching multiple historical texts from traumatic histories and in teaching first-person narratives from many historical events, not exclusively those of historical trauma.

Implications

This coaching model operationalized the framework for traumatic history instruction and oft-discussed concepts of historical source analysis by providing specific prompts to coach teachers to teach historical analysis of first-person narratives. The findings of this study indicate that instructional coaching can help novice teachers improve how they teach students to analyze a first-person narrative. Although the coaching script included exemplary responses based on Equiano's *Narrative*, coaches, instructional leaders, and teacher educators can use this coaching protocol for myriad first-person narratives. Future research can examine the extent to which teachers incorporate best practices of historical source analysis into their instruction of other first-person narratives and how their instruction changes after coaching.

Because all participants in this study were in their second year of teaching, the findings of this work reflect the potential of this coaching protocol for supporting teacher learning. All teachers in this study wanted content-focused instructional coaching (e.g., Desimone, 2009), but none had been coached on a lesson they taught since they were student teachers. An advantage of this coaching model is that instructional leaders can use it at any phase in a teacher's learning: teacher educators can use it to provide feedback on teachers' practice lessons, instructional coaches can use it to provide feedback on in-service teachers' real lessons, and it can be used in simulated environments at any point.

Furthermore, instructional coaching need not be a one-time event. In addition to all teachers requesting coaching and feedback on their real lessons, some teachers requested additional opportunities to be coached on practice lessons. For example, Casie felt so favorably about her experience that she said she "would love to do five sessions" of practice with coaching after each. In Casie's vision, each session would be more difficult, including students answering incorrectly or displaying off-task behaviors. In other words, Casie wanted a trajectory of increasingly complex practice opportunities with instructional coaching on teaching historical source analysis after each practice. Research of teachers' enacted instruction in repeated practice settings can provide novice teachers with much-needed opportunities to receive coaching and can provide teacher educators with a more systemic picture of how coaching can help teachers learn to implement crucial pedagogies in history education (Adler, 1991).

While this study provides promising evidence that coaching can help teachers learn to teach first-person narratives, not all teachers may respond to coaching the same way. Although participants uniformly said the coaching was helpful, it is possible that not all sections of this coaching protocol are helpful for all teachers. For example, Britt said she found the discussion of

why one teaches first-person narratives to be unhelpful, as she already incorporated them in her instruction. Although this element of coaching aligns with best practices of helping teachers consider why they teach sources from varied perspectives (Fogo, 2014), it's unclear if this coaching helped. While Britt felt she did not need coaching on why to teach first-person narratives, she may have benefitted from a coaching conversation about why to include counternarratives, as the first-person narratives she said she teaches were all written by European conquistadors. Additional research is necessary to understand if this coaching can support teachers' development of skills, dispositions, or the circumstances under which those prompts do not support teacher learning.

I designed this protocol to include general prompts that coaches and teacher educators could use with a variety of texts, but I chose to study teachers' instruction of Equiano's *Narrative* because I want to widen the scope of first-person narratives that we research and teach. Research of teachers' use of first-person narratives focuses heavily on testimonies from the Holocaust with few exceptions (e.g., Harris et al., 2019; Hauver et al., 2020; Reid et al., 2021). Although two participants in this study (Britt and Dora) had taught Equiano's *Narrative* before, one participant (Albert) said he had never read a source written by a formerly enslaved person, much less taught one. This is of grave concern for people who know that history education depends on teaching students to analyze multiple perspectives, as teachers will not teach sources that they do not know exist.

Teacher educators play an essential role in addressing this problem by introducing their students to new perspectives that they otherwise would not know or teach (Salinas & Blevins, 2014). I call on social studies researchers and teacher educators to incorporate first-person narratives written by historically marginalized authors into their practice. If we prepare teachers

to include these narratives in their instruction, teachers can fulfill the goals of helping students learn from diverse perspectives and deepen their understanding of history.

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Appendix A: Excerpt from Equiano's *Narrative*

DEDICATION

TO THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL, AND THE COMMONS OF THE PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Permit me, with the greatest deference and respect, to lay at your feet the following genuine Narrative; the chief design of which is to excite in your august assemblies a sense of compassion for the miseries which the Slave-Trade has entailed on my unfortunate countrymen. By the horrors of that trade was I first torn away from all the tender connexions that were naturally dear to my heart; but these, through the mysterious ways of Providence, I ought to regard as infinitely more than compensated by the introduction I have thence obtained to the knowledge of the Christian religion, and of a nation which, by its liberal sentiments, its humanity, the glorious freedom of its government, and its proficiency in arts and sciences, has exalted the dignity of human nature.

I am sensible I ought to entreat your pardon for addressing to you a work so wholly devoid of literary merit; but, as the production of an unlettered African, who is actuated by the hope of becoming an instrument towards the relief of his suffering countrymen, I trust that *such a man*, pleading in *such a cause*, will be acquitted of boldness and presumption.

May the God of heaven inspire your hearts with peculiar benevolence on that important day when the question of Abolition is to be discussed, when thousands, in consequence of your Determination, are to look for Happiness or Misery!

I am, MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN, Your most obedient, And devoted humble servant,
OLAUDAH EQUIANO,
OR
GUSTAVUS VASSA.

Union-Street, Mary-le-bone,
March 24, 1789.

CHAPTER V.

I continued to travel, sometimes by land, sometimes by water, through different countries and various nations, till, at the end of six or seven months after I had been kidnapped, I arrived at the sea coast. …

The first object which saluted my eyes when I arrived on the coast was the sea, and a slave ship, which was then riding at anchor, and waiting for its cargo. These filled me with astonishment, which was soon converted into terror when I was carried on board. I was immediately handled and tossed up to see if I were sound by some of the crew; and I was now persuaded that I had gotten into a world of bad spirits, and that they were going to kill me. Their complexions too differing so much from ours, their long hair, and the language they spoke, (which was very different from any I had ever heard) united to confirm me in this belief. Indeed such were the horrors of my views and fears at the moment, that, if ten thousand worlds had been my own, I would have freely parted with them all to have exchanged my condition with that of

the meanest slave in my own country. When I looked round the ship too and saw a large furnace or copper boiling, and a multitude of black people of every description chained together, every one of their countenances expressing dejection and sorrow, I no longer doubted of my fate; and, quite overpowered with horror and anguish, I fell motionless on the deck and fainted. When I recovered a little I found some black people about me, who I believed were some of those who brought me on board, and had been receiving their pay; they talked to me in order to cheer me, but all in vain. I asked them if we were not to be eaten by those white men with horrible looks, red faces, and loose hair. They told me I was not; and one of the crew brought me a small portion of spirituous liquor in a wine glass; but, being afraid of him, I would not take it out of his hand. One of the blacks therefore took it from him and gave it to me, and I took a little down my palate, which, instead of reviving me, as they thought it would, threw me into the greatest consternation at the strange feeling it produced, having never tasted any such liquor before.

Soon after this the blacks who brought me on board went off, and left me abandoned to despair. I now saw myself deprived of all chance of returning to my native country, or even the least glimpse of hope of gaining the shore, which I now considered as friendly; and I even wished for my former slavery in preference to my present situation, which was filled with horrors of every kind, still heightened by my ignorance of what I was to undergo. I was not long suffered to indulge my grief; I was soon put down under the decks, and there I received such a salutation in my nostrils as I had never experienced in my life: so that, with the loathsomeness of the stench, and crying together, I became so sick and low that I was not able to eat, nor had I the least desire to taste any thing. I now wished for the last friend, death, to relieve me; but soon, to my grief, two of the white men offered me eatables; and, on my refusing to eat, one of them held me fast by the hands, and laid me across I think the windlass, and tied my feet, while the other flogged me severely. I had never experienced any thing of this kind before; and although, not being used to the water, I naturally feared that element the first time I saw it, yet nevertheless, could I have got over the nettings, I would have jumped over the side, but I could not; and, besides, the crew used to watch us very closely who were not chained down to the decks, lest we should leap into the water: and I have seen some of these poor African prisoners most severely cut for attempting to do so, and hourly whipped for not eating. This indeed was often the case with myself. In a little time after, amongst the poor chained men, I found some of my own nation, which in a small degree gave ease to my mind. I inquired of these what was to be done with us; they gave me to understand we were to be carried to these white people's country to work for them. I then was a little revived, and thought, if it were no worse than working, my situation was not so desperate: but still I feared I should be put to death, the white people looked and acted, as I thought, in so savage a manner; for I had never seen among any people such instances of brutal cruelty; and this not only shewn towards us blacks, but also to some of the whites themselves. One white man in particular I saw, when we were permitted to be on deck, flogged so unmercifully with a large rope near the foremast, that he died in consequence of it; and they tossed him over the side as they would have done a brute. This made me fear these people the more; and I expected nothing less than to be treated in the same manner. I could not help expressing my fears and apprehensions to some of my countrymen: I asked them if these people had no country, but lived in this hollow place (the ship): they told me they did not, but came from a distant one. 'Then,' said I, 'how comes it in all our country we never heard of them?' They told me because they lived so very far off. I then asked where were their women? had they any like themselves? I was told they had: 'and why,' said I, 'do we not see them?' they answered, because they were left behind. I asked how the vessel could go? they told me they could not tell;

but that there were cloths put upon the masts by the help of the ropes I saw, and then the vessel went on; and the white men had some spell or magic they put in the water when they liked in order to stop the vessel. I was exceedingly amazed at this account, and really thought they were spirits. I therefore wished much to be from amongst them, for I expected they would sacrifice me: but my wishes were vain; for we were so quartered that it was impossible for any of us to make our escape.

CHAPTER VI.

While we stayed on the coast I was mostly on deck; and one day, to my great astonishment, I saw one of these vessels coming in with the sails up. As soon as the whites saw it, they gave a great shout, at which we were amazed; and the more so as the vessel appeared larger by approaching nearer. At last she came to an anchor in my sight, and when the anchor was let go I and my countrymen who saw it were lost in astonishment to observe the vessel stop; and were not convinced it was done by magic. Soon after this the other ship got her boats out, and they came on board of us, and the people of both ships seemed very glad to see each other. Several of the strangers also shook hands with us black people, and made motions with their hands, signifying I suppose we were to go to their country; but we did not understand them. At last, when the ship we were in had got in all her cargo, they made ready with many fearful noises, and we were all put under deck, so that we could not see how they managed the vessel.

But this disappointment was the least of my sorrow. The stench of the hold while we were on the coast was so intolerably loathsome, that it was dangerous to remain there for any time, and some of us had been permitted to stay on the deck for the fresh air; but now that the whole ship's cargo were confined together, it became absolutely pestilential. The closeness of the place, and the heat of the climate, added to the number in the ship, which was so crowded that each had scarcely room to turn himself, almost suffocated us. This produced copious perspirations, so that the air soon became unfit for respiration, from a variety of loathsome smells, and brought on a sickness among the slaves, of which many died, thus falling victims to the improvident avarice, as I may call it, of their purchasers. This wretched situation was again aggravated by the galling of the chains, now become insupportable; and the filth of the necessary tubs, into which the children often fell, and were almost suffocated. The shrieks of the women, and the groans of the dying, rendered the whole a scene of horror almost inconceivable. Happily perhaps for myself I was soon reduced so low here that it was thought necessary to keep me almost always on deck; and from my extreme youth I was not put in fetters. In this situation I expected every hour to share the fate of my companions, some of whom were almost daily brought upon deck at the point of death, which I began to hope would soon put an end to my miseries. Often did I think many of the inhabitants of the deep much more happy than myself. I envied them the freedom they enjoyed, and as often wished I could change my condition for theirs. Every circumstance I met with served only to render my state more painful, and heighten my apprehensions, and my opinion of the cruelty of the whites.

One day they had taken a number of fishes; and when they had killed and satisfied themselves with as many as they thought fit, to our astonishment who were on the deck, rather than give any of them to us to eat as we expected, they tossed the remaining fish into the sea again, although we begged and prayed for some as well as we could, but in vain; and some of my countrymen, being pressed by hunger, took an opportunity, when they thought no one saw them, of trying to get a little privately; but they were discovered, and the attempt procured them some very severe floggings. One day, when we had a smooth sea and moderate wind, two of my

wearied countrymen who were chained together (I was near them at the time), preferring death to such a life of misery, somehow made through the nettings and jumped into the sea: immediately another quite dejected fellow, who, on account of his illness, was suffered to be out of irons, also followed their example; and I believe many more would very soon have done the same if they had not been prevented by the ship's crew, who were instantly alarmed. Those of us that were the most active were in a moment put down under the deck, and there was such a noise and confusion amongst the people of the ship as I never heard before, to stop her, and get the boat out to go after the slaves. However two of the wretches were drowned, but they got the other, and afterwards flogged him unmercifully for thus attempting to prefer death to slavery. In this manner we continued to undergo more hardships than I can now relate, hardships which are inseparable from this accursed trade. Many a time we were near suffocation from the want of fresh air, which we were often without for whole days together. This, and the stench of the necessary tubs, carried off many.

Appendix B: Coaching Protocol

1. Gauge teacher's understanding of their performance. Ask the teacher how they felt the simulation went.

Teacher gives a negative response	Teacher gives a positive response
That's totally fine! This is practice so we can improve your skills. Let's use this time to get you feeling prepared for your second attempt.	Great! Hopefully we can help you feel even more ready to support student learning in the next attempt.

2. **Identify one strength of the previous simulation.**

Teacher was warm and welcoming during the scenario

I really enjoyed watching you teach because I saw you responding to each student with a calm, positive attitude. This is so important because it welcomes students to the class and can convey a supportive tone for a difficult topic.

Teacher asked questions about the text.

You did a great job of asking students questions about the text. This is an important practice in history, as it engages students with the text.

Teacher probed for evidence

You did a great job of asking students to provide evidence from the text to support their answers. This is an important practice in history.

3. **Set focus for using a narrative to teach traumatic history.**

Reading sources is an integral part of history education. Reading first-person narratives can be particularly important when teaching traumatic histories, like slavery and genocide. What do you think students can learn by reading this narrative?

Teacher is unsure	Teacher gives a response not specific to traumatic histories	Teacher gives a response specific to traumatic histories
That's ok. Let's start by considering why we read sources in history? When teaching a traumatic history, such as slavery or genocide, it is important to remember that most documented evidence was maintained by the perpetrators, not the survivors or victims. Why would we want students to read a narrative written by someone who experienced oppression? How can students benefit from reading this narrative?	That's a good answer for why we use sources in all history classes. I want to dig deeper and consider how this connects to traumatic histories. When teaching a traumatic history, such as slavery or genocide, it is important to remember that most documented evidence was maintained by the perpetrators, not the survivors or victims. Why would we want students to read a narrative written by someone who experienced oppression?	That's a wonderful way of explaining how this narrative can deepen students' understanding of how someone experienced this traumatic history. When teaching traumatic histories, we want to show students that the statistics of historical tragedies represent real people with real stories. This can help our students build historical empathy for others.

	How can students benefit from reading this narrative?	

4. Identify goal(s) for the teacher to improve in the next simulation and provide background information of why the goal(s) matter(s).

	State Goal	**Background Information**
Sourcing the historical context	This time, I want you to focus on supporting students to establish the historical context of this narrative.	Sourcing the historical context allows students to understand who wrote this text, when, where, and what else was happening in the world at this time. Why do we want students to understand the historical context of a source?
Analyze the author's agency	This time, I want you to focus on supporting students to analyze the author's agency and actions.	Reading a first-person narrative provides us insight into how one person experienced the traumatic history. Because each person had different lived experiences, there is no text that can show us all people's experiences. This text can help students add another perspective to their understanding of the history. Why do we want students to understand the perspective of someone who was oppressed when learning about a traumatic history?
Analyze the author's use of descriptive language	This time, I want you to focus on guiding students to analyze descriptive language in the text, such as the author's use of sensory details.	People who choose to document their experiences in a traumatic history often include specific sensory details so the reader or listener can picture some of what the author experienced. Authors often use descriptive language to depict their experiences in a way that would not be documented by the perpetrators. Why do we want to help students analyze descriptive language, such as the sights and smells the author includes in their text, when reading a narrative of historical trauma?

5. Apply the goal(s) to evidence from the previous simulation.

	Framing of Evidence
Establishing historical context	In the last lesson, you mentioned ___ but did not address _(setting / author's identity / how context affects what the author wrote)__. What was missing from that exchange?

Analyze the author's agency	In the last lesson, you 1. Provide example from lesson that shows the teacher suggesting that this narrative shows the experiences of all people who experienced this traumatic history 2. Provide example from lesson that shows the teacher minimizing the author's actions and focusing on the actions of others (e.g., the oppressors) How could that affect students' ability to understand the author's role and perspective on their experiences?
Analyze the author's use of descriptive language	In the last lesson, you mentioned ___ but did not address _(specific descriptive language or why author may have chosen to include that information)_. What was missing from that exchange?

6. Prompt teacher to develop questions and exemplary answers about the text

	Prompt for Example Questions	**Develop Exemplar Responses**
Establishing historical context	What are some questions you can ask students to establish the historical context of this source? *Who wrote this?* *When and where was it written?* *What was happening when the author wrote this?* *What were attitudes about the topic of this text at the time it was written?* *Time permitting: How might that context impact what the author would write? Does the author have an explicitly stated audience or reason for writing this?*	For each of those questions, let's prepare an exemplar answer based on the text. That will help you know if students met your expectation or if you need to redirect them to the text. Example from Equiano's *Narrative:* ● Olaudah Equiano, a formerly enslaved man, wrote this narrative. ● Equiano wrote this in 1789 when he was living in Great Britain. *Dedication page, line 26* ● 1789 was after the American Revolution but before American or British abolition. The slave trade was happening when he wrote this. ● Time permitting: Equiano wanted readers in the late 18th century to abolish slavery and end the transatlantic slave trade after reading his narrative. The author dedicated his narrative to British Parliament. He wrote that he wanted readers to have "a sense of compassion for the miseries" of the slave trade and asked Parliament to consider his narrative when discussing abolition. *Dedication page, lines 6-7, 16, 18-19*

Analyze the author's agency	What are some questions you can ask students about this text to understand the author's actions and feelings rather than those of the oppressors during the events of this narrative? *What does this source tell us about what the author experienced?* *What does this source tell us how the author felt about these experiences?* What are some questions you can ask students about this text to understand the author's motivation in writing this text? *Who was the author's intended audience?* *What do we know about the author's purpose for writing this text?* *What details in the text would help readers understand that purpose?*	For each of those questions, let's prepare an exemplar answer based on the text. That will help you know if students met your expectation or if you need to redirect them to the text. Example close reading author's actions from Equiano's *Narrative:* ● After Equiano boarded the boat, he was "quite overpowered with horror and anguish" then fainted. *lines 42-43* ● Equiano met others from his nation, shared information with them, and expressed "fears and apprehensions" to them. *lines 79-80* ● Equiano explains the cruelties he observed on the ship, including "hardships which are inseparable from this accursed trade". *lines 137-140* Example author's motivation from Equiano's *Narrative:* ● Equiano's primary audience was the British Parliament. *Lines 2-3* ● Equiano wanted readers in his context to abolish slavery and end the transatlantic slave trade after reading his narrative. Equiano dedicated this text to the members of the British Parliament. He wrote that he wanted readers to have "a sense of compassion for the miseries" of the slave trade and asked Parliament to consider his narrative when discussing abolition. *Lines 6-7, 18-20* ● Equiano provides details about the cruelties he observed on the ship, including "hardships which are inseparable from this accursed trade". Equiano included these details so readers would understand the misery and feel empathy for those who were enslaved. *Lines 138-140, 6-7*
Analyze the author's use of descriptive language	What are some ways you can prompt students to provide examples of descriptive language in this text? *How does the author describe what they saw / smelled / heard / felt / tasted?* We do not want to ask our students when they have felt the same as the	For each of those questions, let's prepare an exemplar answer based on the text. That will help you know if students met your expectation or if you need to redirect them to the text. Example close reading author's sensory descriptive language from Equiano's *Narrative:*

	author, as the intent of reading a narrative from a traumatic history is to understand how the author experienced this trauma, not to compare it to our own experiences. How can you help students consider why the author used that descriptive language? *Why might the author have included these details?* *What physical or emotional reactions do you associate with those descriptions?* *What reaction might the author have wanted readers to have when reading these descriptions?*	• Equiano offers visual descriptions of the slave ship he saw on the coast that "filled me with astonishment, which was soon converted into terror". He details "the horrors of my views," telling the reader how he reacted to the things he saw. He also describes seeing "black people of every description chained together…expressing dejection and sorrow." These descriptions contrast with how previous experiences, as he "had never seen among any people such instances of brutal cruelty." *Lines 32-43, 73-74* • Equiano describes "the loathsomeness of the stench" when he went below deck on a slave ship. He explains "that it was dangerous to remain there for any time" because the air below deck was "unfit for respiration, from a variety of loathsome smells, and brought on a sickness among the slaves, of which many died". *Lines 57-62, 103-114* Example rationale for author's sensory descriptive language from Equiano's *Narrative:* • Equiano provides these sensory details to help the reader understand the horrors he experienced. Along with these descriptions, Equiano describes how he reacted to these sensory experiences, including "terror," "horrors," "fearful," and "misery." *Lines 33, 37-38, 55, 72-79* • In the dedication to his book, Equiano wrote that he wanted readers to have "a sense of compassion for the miseries" of the slave trade and asked Parliament to consider his narrative when discussing abolition. The descriptive language provides the reader insight into the miseries he experienced. *Lines 5-7, 18-20*

7. Practice through role-play.

Provide a practice opportunity where the coach will pretend to be a student and the teacher will practice using the targeted skill.

	Prompt for Role Play

Establishing historical context	Let's practice now with a quick role play where I pretend that I am your class, and you are the teacher. Before we discuss specific questions about the text itself, I want you to make sure the class understands the context for the text itself. You can take a minute to prepare how you will help teach; please let me know when you are ready to practice.
Analyze the author's agency	Let's practice now with a quick role play where I pretend that I am your class, and you are the teacher. You have already established the historical context for this text and are now going to ask questions about the content of the text itself. I want you to focus on asking me questions that will help me analyze the author's actions. You can take a minute to prepare how you will help teach; please let me know when you are ready to practice.
Analyze the author's use of descriptive language	Let's practice now with a quick role play where I pretend that I am your class, and you are the teacher. You have already established the historical context for this text and have asked me some questions about the content of the text itself. I want you to focus on also asking me questions that will help me analyze the author's use of descriptive language. You can take a minute to prepare how you will help teach; please let me know when you are ready to practice.

8. Provide descriptive feedback.
Identify a strength the teacher did well in practice. Explain the positive impact it would have on learners. If the teacher could have improved their practice, be specific about the targeted skill.

9. Close and reinforce.
Thank the teacher for practicing with you and frame the next round of practice.

Great work today! I can't wait to watch you try (restate skill) on this next practice.

Appendix C: Pre-Lesson Survey

1. What is your name?
2. What school(s) and division or school district did you teach in last year?
3. What course(s) and grade(s) did you teach this past year?
4. How do you describe your demographics?
5. How do you define historical trauma?
6. How do you define a first-person narrative?
7. How do you define a narrative of historical trauma?
8. How often did you teach historical trauma in your first year of teaching?
    a. 0 lessons
    b. 1 lesson
    c. 2-4 lessons
    d. 5 or more lessons
9. Please explain your answer to the previous question.
10. How often do you expect to teach historical trauma next year?
    a. 0 lessons
    b. 1 lesson
    c. 2-4 lessons
    d. 5 or more lessons
11. Please explain your answer to the previous question.
12. How often did you teach first-person narratives in your first year of teaching?
    a. 0 lessons
    b. 1 lesson
    c. 2-4 lessons
    d. 5 or more lessons
13. Please explain your answer to the previous question.
14. How often do you expect to teach first-person narratives next year?
    a. 0 lessons
    a. 1 lesson
    a. 2-4 lessons
    a. 5 or more lessons
15. Please explain your answer to the previous question.
16. How often did you teach narratives of historical trauma in your first year of teaching?
    a. 0 lessons
    b. 1 lesson
    c. 2-4 lessons
    d. 5 or more lessons
17. Please explain your answer to the previous question.
18. How often do you expect to teach narratives of historical trauma next year?
    a. 0 lessons
    b. 1 lesson
    c. 2-4 lessons
    d. 5 or more lessons
19. Please explain your answer to the previous question.
20. I know how to deliver a lecture.
    a. Strongly agree

   b. Agree
   c. Disagree
   d. Strongly disagree
21. How do you feel when leading a lecture?
   a. Very confident
   b. Somewhat confident
   c. Somewhat unsure
   d. Very unsure
22. How would you feel if you had to explain the causes of the Transatlantic Slave Trade?
   a. Very confident
   b. Somewhat confident
   c. Somewhat unsure
   d. Very unsure
23. I know how to answer a student's question about when the Transatlantic Slave Trade happened.
   a. Strongly agree
   b. Agree
   c. Disagree
   d. Strongly disagree
24. I can explain basic facts about the Transatlantic Slave Trade.
   a. Strongly agree
   b. Agree
   c. Disagree
   d. Strongly disagree
25. How would you feel if you were to lecture about the Transatlantic Slave Trade?
   a. Very confident
   b. Somewhat confident
   c. Somewhat unsure
   d. Very unsure
26. I know how to lead a class discussion.
   a. Strongly agree
   b. Agree
   c. Disagree
   d. Strongly disagree
27. How do you feel when leading a class discussion?
   a. Very confident
   b. Somewhat confident
   c. Somewhat unsure
   d. Very unsure
28. How would you feel if you had to lead a discussion relating to the Transatlantic Slave Trade?
   a. Very confident
   b. Somewhat confident
   c. Somewhat unsure
   d. Very unsure

29. How do you feel about your ability to respond to a student who asks, “why didn’t enslaved people stand up to their captors?”
    a. Very confident
    b. Somewhat confident
    c. Somewhat unsure
    d. Very unsure
30. How do you feel about your ability to respond to a student who asks, “why didn’t Africans fight back?”
    a. Very confident
    b. Somewhat confident
    c. Somewhat unsure
    d. Very unsure
31. Describe your goals for this lesson.
32. Select the option that best aligns to your goals for this lesson:
    a. Engage in literary analysis
    b. Engage in historical source analysis
    c. Engage in religious analysis
    d. Lead a lecture
    e. Lead a discussion
33. Explain your plan for this lesson.
34. Is there anything you’d like to share before you complete the mock-teaching lesson?

Appendix D: Post-Lesson Survey

1) What is your name?
2) What was your goal for the lesson?
3) Rate your lesson on the following scale. To what extent did your lesson reach your goal for the lesson?
    a) Not at all
    b) b. A little
    c) A moderate amount
    d) A lot
    e) A great deal
4) Explain your answer to the previous question.
5) Select the option that best aligns to what you feel you accomplished in this lesson:
    a) Engage in literary analysis
    b) Engage in historical source analysis
    c) Engage in religious analysis
    d) Lead a lecture
    e) Lead a discussion
6) Explain your answer to the previous question.
7) Select the teaching behaviors you used during your simulation today.
    a) I lectured.
    b) I incorporated additional historical details not in the text.
    c) I asked questions.
    d) I asked students to provide text evidence.
    e) I asked students to utilize literary skills, like making a text-based inference or analyzing a symbol.
    f) I did a lot of thinking work for the students.
    g) I put a lot of thinking work on the students.
8) How do you define historical trauma?
9) How do you define a first-person narrative?
10) How do you define a narrative of historical trauma?
11) How often do you expect to teach historical trauma next year?
    a) 0 lessons
    b) 1 lesson
    c) 2-4 lessons
    d) 5 or more lessons
12) Please explain your answer to the previous question.
13) How often do you expect to teach first-person narratives next year?
    a) 0 lessons
    b) 1 lesson
    c) 2-4 lessons
    d) 5 or more lessons
14) Please explain your answer to the previous question.
15) How often do you expect to teach narratives of historical trauma next year?
    a) 0 lessons
    b) 1 lesson
    c) 2-4 lessons

d) 5 or more lessons

16) Please explain your answer to the previous question.
17) Based on this experience, what reflections, questions, or concerns do you have before teaching narratives of historical trauma? *Bullet points are fine for responses!*

Appendix E: Interview Protocol

- Welcome
    - How are you, how was day, how is end of quarter 1
    - Catch me up on how you are feeling at your new school.
    - Thinking big picture about this year, what are you hoping students learn in your classes?
- Perception of practice lessons
    - You said in your survey/lesson that your goal for the lesson was for students to _____ Can you tell me about why you picked those goals?
    - You mentioned that a big goal for students down the road is _____. Can you tell me more about how you tried to _____?
    - Do you feel like you reached your goals on the first lesson?
        - Can probe: How do you know that? What impacted this?
    - Specific to each person's lesson: I noticed you _____. Why?
    - Does the lesson you taught feel like something you'd teach in your real class?
- Perception of coaching
    - Tell me about your experience with coaching in this practice.
    - What were you coached on?
    - What did you want to be coached on?
    - Specific to each person's coaching: I noticed you _____. Why?
    - How did you feel about the coaching?
    - Was there anything you wish you could have discussed with your coach?
    - I want to get your feedback on the coaching session.
        - Was there any part of the coaching that were particularly helpful?
        - Were there aspects of the coaching that you thought were missing or should be improved?
    - I want to think about what you did after the coaching when you taught a second time. I noticed you _____. Why?
    - Did your goal for your lesson shift for the second lesson? Why?
    - Do you feel like you reached your goals on the second lesson?
    - Did you do anything differently in your second lesson because of the coaching?
        - Can you tell me some specifics?
- Connection between coaching and teaching
    - I want to close by asking you a bit more about how you could see the coaching you received in this session relating to your instruction down the road. In what ways does this experience, including the coaching, align with how you think about teaching social studies?
    - Thinking about the division you teach in now. Have you received support from a coach or other instructional leader to teach a history topic before?
        - What was that like?
        - What kinds of feedback would you want to receive?
        - How do you feel about this topic [and/or term participant uses for traumatic histories] in the school you teach in now? Why?
        - Have you received feedback from your division on how to teach slavery [and/or term participant uses for traumatic histories]?

    - Have you received feedback from students' families on how to teach slavery [and/or term participant uses for traumatic histories]?
    - Are there ways that the coaching you received in this practice lesson matches up with or goes against other feedback you've gotten about teaching these topics?
- Are there any aspects of this coaching that you can see yourself using in future lessons?
    - Are there other topics you could see yourself using ideas from the coaching for?
    - Are there other sources you could use this coaching for?
    - Is there anything about the coaching that you will think about when teaching down the road?
    - What final thoughts would you like to share about this experience?

Appendix F: Codebook for Components of Traumatic History Instruction

	Definition	**Example**
Expectations & Norms	Specific expectations for student behavior and participation during the lesson. Does not include introductions or "how was your day."	"The norm in class today is that all those emotions are totally okay. They're acceptable. Whatever you're feeling is fine. I want you to just kind of stop if you're feeling overwhelmed." "We understand that we must take the suffering of others seriously. So we're very respectful. And we're not making any jokes about the slave trade. Do you understand?"
Text Analysis (TA)	Parent code co-applied to child codes about analyzing the body of the text.	*Automatically co-applied as parent code for one of the four child codes. Not applied without a child code.*
TA: Affect	Parent code co-applied to child codes about affect.	*Automatically co-applied as parent code for one of the four child codes. Not applied without a child code.*
TA: Affect: Author	The author's emotional state and the author's intent to elicit emotions in the historical context in which the text was written.	"Can anybody tell me what is one word that he uses to describe his feelings when he sees the cargo ship?"
TA: Affect: Present	Students' emotional response or reaction to reading this text.	"So first of all, how did this text make you guys feel? What emotions did you have while you were reading it?"
TA: Affect: Hypothetical	How students would emotionally respond or react if they were hypothetically in the context of the text.	"If you see someone try to jump to their death but then they're caught, brought back and beaten up, punished for jumping. What's going through your head?"
TA: Comprehension	Comprehension of the events of the text, quotations, and vocabulary terms. A teacher explanation followed by "does that make sense?" is *not* comprehension.	"It says, 'But now that the whole ship's cargo were confined together, it became absolutely pestilential.' Does anybody know the definition of 'pestilential'?"
TA: Descriptive	The sensory experience on the ship, including the sights, smells, and sounds the author describes.	"We're talking here about like what he's seeing. What are some other senses that he's experiencing? Maybe things that he is smelling or touching. What other sensory experiences is he having?
TA: Sourcing	Analysis of the creator of the source, intended audience, and setting of when and where text was written.	"So if you guys look at the dedication with me, which is in lines one to 26, let's take a look. Well, first of all. Who was he writing this to? Who is his audience here?" "When and where was it written?"

TA: Inferences	Inferences, predictions, or hypotheses of what historical figures may have thought, felt, or done. Questions cannot be answered using text evidence alone.	"Are people going to immediately believe Equiano's tale or story in this narrative?" "How does that psychological experience—how do you think that would impact him?"
Historical Context	Events, beliefs, and society happening at the same time as the events in the text or the creation of the text that are not explained in the text itself.	"A really quick review of the transatlantic slave trade from the 1550's to the 1860's. We have sugar, rice, and tobacco moving from the Americas to Europe. We have manufactured goods moving from Europe back to the Americas. But most importantly, we have slaves moving on slave ships from Africa to the Americas." "What's interesting about this is that it implies if he wants abolition, is this still happening when he's writing his account?"
Teacher Explanation *Do NOT co-apply with text analysis *Do NOT use for an answer to a student's explicit question	Teacher explains an idea for two or more sentences without a question. This can include a teacher elaborating on or explaining a student's answer. Reading a selection of text aloud does not count towards the explanation length.	"So he had never seen among his own people this type of brutal cruelty. Never seen this type of dehumanization before. Everyone always treated each other with least some respect. You know, maybe it wasn't a perfect life before, but nobody had ever been so flagrantly deprived of their humanity like they had seen in this exact moment"

- All codes are applied to teachers' discourse, not to students' discourse.
- Codes can be co-applied, except "teacher explanation" and "text analysis."
- Feedback on students' responses, such as "I think that's an amazing word to describe the treatment" should not be coded.
- Procedural directions, such as "you can put your pencil down" should not be coded.
- Repeating a question to solicit an answer from a different student, such as "does anybody want to give us another example?" should not be coded.
- Perfunctory questions such as "right," "any other thoughts," and "does that make sense?" should not be coded. Any preceding stanza can be coded as "teacher explanation".